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## Chapter 1

# THE "DREAMWORK" OF IMPERIALISM

In the course of the fieldwork for this dissertation, I surveyed a small area of Amreli District, in the Saurashtra peninsula of western India. By identifying archaeological sites, studying their locations relative to one another, and analyzing a sizeable collection of potsherds, I learned that within this area during the first millennium A.D. some villages shifted locations, several perhaps consolidated, some died out, and some remained in place; and all of this occurred in a demonstrably nonrandom pattern. I was, I thought, ready to make some tentative statements about rural communities during this period in India. Yet my attempts to interpret these findings beyond the scale of this small set of communities faltered, and the larger realities of life in ancient Saurashtra remained beyond my reach. My efforts had been obstructed by a large modern reality: the massive and ponderous idea of "antiquity" in India. My tools -- surveys, maps, potsherds, and statistics -- seemed pitifully inadequate for chipping away at this monolith. I decided, then, to detour

around it and consider how it is that, in India, antiquity itself has come to be a most unknowable concept.

In spite of its prominence in universities, and the considerable resources spent by the government on antiquities and ancient sites, archaeology receives surprisingly little public criticism or analysis in India, and is conspicuously absent in the post-colonial critique. Given that modern India highly values and vigorously markets its "cultural confidence provided by an ancient history that very few nations can match,"[1] and that archaeology has for many years bolstered that confidence, the discipline's origins as a British imperial science have come under little scrutiny. This lack of critical interest marks the position of archaeology in contemporary debates about the nature and meaning of Indian antiquity -- usually so far out on the sidelines as to be inaudible.

Histories of archaeology usually describe a dawning awareness of physical remains of the past, with the first uncoordinated efforts to accumulate evidence becoming more ordered and methodical over time and, eventually, purposeful and scientific. In India this process is usually traced back to pre-colonial British documenters of monuments and ruins. Unlike the archaeologies of other places, however, the early antiquarians and

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[1]"How the World Sees India," by Raj Chengappa. India Today, 15 October 1991, p. 28.

archaeologists of India collected and documented their countless coins, statues, inscriptions and sites in support of an imaginative narrative scripted in the course of an evolving Anglo-Indian relationship. Instead of the complicated transaction that it was, the archaeology of India is viewed as a rather straightforward affair and the British effort a commendably responsible one under unfortunate circumstances. And so, precluded from criticism by its very irrelevance, Indian archaeology surfaces as an endowment by the sensible and forward-thinking British, as in a recent review of a new history of Europe: "It was Europeans who began the collection and appreciation of the cultural achievements of other peoples, and, one might add, in a manner not matched by the attitudes of other civilizations toward Europe. The first vernacular press in India, [Roberts] points out, was started by an Englishman, and another Englishman began the study of Indian archaeology, 'which led eventually to the ordered preservation of Indian monuments by government, something no previous conqueror had ever attempted.' The same story could be told all around the world."[2]

The limitations I perceived in Indian historic archaeology were an interesting inversion of my training in New World archaeology and of my fieldwork in India's prehistory, where images produced through archaeological

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[2]Review by Donald Kagan of A History of Europe by J. M. Roberts. The New York Times Book Review, 28 December 1997, p. 8.

survey and excavation continually adjust to accommodate new findings, and where archaeologists are considered fundamental experts on antiquity. In India, the discipline of settlement archaeology is ceded authority to identify and arrange the elements of the Indus civilization landscape, but must compete with central and state governments, the tourist industry, religious leaders and political parties to characterize the landscape of less distant times.

In the course of analyzing the villages of Amreli it became clear to me that in India, more than in other places, the response of archaeology to objects (which can be moved, stored, catalogued, curated, or lost) has been generally distinct from a more spontaneous, but no less intensive, approach to the identification and maintenance of ancient spaces, fixed in the outdoor world of action, movement, and experience. The overall characterization of India as an ancient place appears to be at the heart of this differentiation. One fact conveyed in almost any general history, guide book, or museum display about India is that it is, in all conceivable senses, "ancient." India's great antiquity "deeply shocked" the early British colonizers (Suleri 1992: 34), and the stupefaction continues; one eminent historian recently referred to India's "inextricable antiquity," which combines with its youth as a nation to produce a "paradox found everywhere" (Wolpert 1991: 1).

India's rural landscape particularly inspires extravagant assertions of durability and timelessness. An archaeology exhibit at the British Museum declares that "underlying everything in India is a village continuity. This is as true for the ancient period as it is for the present. It is the cultural backdrop against which every event occurs" (Knox 1982: 13). The new Fodor's guide to India, completely rewritten for the next century, explains that the "lack of value attached to time will have an appealing effect when you travel into rural areas or villages. There, time's insignificance induces a dreamlike state" (Cox 1996: 3). As an archaeologist of this "cultural backdrop," I feel implicated in these banalities about India, and obliged to challenge them. What is the purpose of archaeology in a place so saturated that its antiquity is "inextricable"? Why is rural India believed to move in some alien rhythm out of sync with the rest of human history?

My initial perception of Indian antiquity as a monolith was incorrect. Not fixed and unmovable, it was instead everywhere, and even harder to know because it was fluid and phantasmic, the "dreamlike state" anticipated by the Fodor's tourist. The British Museum was having the same dream, dominated by images of "timelessness" and "continuity," beliefs about India's past that can be traced ultimately to the beginnings of the relationship with imperial Britain. By way of interpreting this "dream," I will examine evidence from the

early stages of that relationship, the visual and verbal descriptions of antiquity as documented in the Indian countryside by explorers, artists, and administrators in travel and exploration accounts, archaeological restorations, reconstructions, and surveys. I will discuss how these early interpretations of rural India characterized subjective relations in time, space, and authority, and collectively determined "landscapes" of rural India readily absorbed by the domestic British imagination. And I will describe how, as in a dream, these landscapes are distorted -- first in the outsized and threatening landscape of "colossal" antiquity, represented by monuments, ancient cities and other artifacts of power, and secondly in the "miniaturized" world of an unchanging Indian village, seemingly isolated from the world around it.

As in a dream, these distorted images can be seen as results of the censorship of dream-thoughts (Freud [1924] 1959: 45). The medium of landscape "naturalizes a cultural and social construction, representing an artificial world as if it were simply given and inevitable" (Mitchell 1994a: 2). Fodor's employment of dream imagery is only the latest in a long series of dream events which condense and overdetermine what Said has termed "latent" orientalism into "manifest" statements about India (1978: 206). I will argue in this dissertation that in their early depictions of the landscape of Indian antiquity, the pre-colonial British processes of selection and

composition were in fact what Mitchell (1994b: 10) has called "the dreamwork of imperialism." As with the way that human dream-thoughts are "obliged to submit to being altered and softened so as to make the forbidden meaning of the dream unrecognizable" (Freud [1924] 1959: 45), imperial dreamwork converted the anxiety, ambivalence, and desire provoked by India's antiquity into the more tolerable "shocking" and "paradoxical."

The durability of orientalist images, ideas, and beliefs about India can be traced to the authority invested in colonial empiricism; today orientalist "facts" about India serve as "foundational ideas" in Indian national culture, regardless of later knowledges that complicate those images (Ludden 1993: 271-272). Archaeology was one of the major forms of British empiricism, especially influential by way of its interpretations of time, space, and origins. The knowledges of India created by archaeology, and present understandings of research problems and data sets, require evaluation of Indian archaeology's own origins. My discussion of the settlements of a small area of Saurashtra, then, occurs in the context of how the British imagined and resolved the great "paradox" of India's antiquity and Britain's modernity, and the implications of that resolution for India's archaeology. The most lasting effect, I argue, has been that Indian antiquity rarely retains the dimensions of its human creators.

In its "artificial world," a landscape communicates relations in space -- a point of view is chosen, and elements are selected and arranged. The resulting composition is a space within which "'we' (figured as 'the figures' in the landscape) find -- or lose -- ourselves" (Mitchell 1994a: 2). In the course of their dreamwork, early British explorers reported Indian antiquity in terms distorted by reference to themselves as incipient conquerors. In late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century India, a time when the British individually and collectively were casting themselves as heroes of a national and imperial epic (Colley 1992: 178), British reports about the Indian scene conventionally positioned the writer, and his audience in England, in the center of the reported landscape. "I shall now request my reader to strike his tent, and begin his march with me from Oodipoor," writes James Tod at the start of Travels in Western India (Tod 1839: 8). The landscapes created in the course of these joint expeditions through India, I will argue, exaggerated and compressed, fragmented and rearranged rural Indian antiquity into two landscapes: one colossal, full of outsized ruins of complexity and mystery; the other, a miniaturized world of simplicity and stagnation -- the ancient Indian village. In both compositions, the human scale was reserved for the British witness and his armchair comrades.

Creating and deciphering landscapes was an activity peculiar to the eighteenth century (Hunt 1976b: xiii), and representations of India were influenced by contemporary habits of "reading" domestic British landscapes. India's colossal landscape very publicly displayed the decaying remains of long-eclipsed states, many of them inscrutable in this period before widespread scholarship, expressive of the volatility and danger inherent in power, and tempting in their promises of greatness. At the same time, the English could revisit their own rural past in India's seemingly stable, age-old village landscape. The unfamiliar and frightening, and the familiar and comforting; in both landscapes, "longings" were taking shape that would affect interpretations of India's antiquity. Coincidentally in the eighteenth century, the meaning of "longing" expanded to express "that the location of desire, or more particularly, the direction of force in the desiring narrative, is always a future-past, a deferment of experience in the direction of origin and thus eschaton" (Stewart 1993: x). Placed inside both a state world of power and desire and a domestic world of loss and regret, colonial ambition was fired by the ability to look everywhere and see both forward and backward.

The tensions created by simultaneously fearing and longing for the Indian landscape quickly became evident, as in the fascination and loathing expressed in Confessions of an English Opium-Eater, published to wide acclaim

in 1821. Thomas De Quincey, familiar with the works of Indian orientalists, and perhaps responding to early depictions of Egyptian antiquities, hallucinated in the context of this "very specific moment in the economic, social and cultural history of Britain" (Barrell 1991: 6-7). His drug-induced dreams rearranged time and space -- he was pursued by Siva and Isis, trapped in pagodas, sacrificed in temples, buried alive with mummies and sphinxes (De Quincey [1821] 1995: 65). In his hallucinations "a theatre seemed suddenly opened and lighted up within my brain. . . . The sense of space, and in the end, the sense of time, were both powerfully affected. Buildings, landscapes, &c. were exhibited in proportions so vast as the bodily eye is not fitted to receive. Space swelled, and was amplified to an extent of unutterable infinity. This, however, did not disturb me so much as the vast expansion of time; I sometimes seemed to have lived for 70 or 100 years in one night" (De Quincey [1821] 1995: 60-61). He feared extinction especially in regard to timeless "Indostan": "The mere antiquity of Asiatic things . . . is so impressive, that to me the vast age of the race and name overpowers the sense of youth in the individual . . . . It contributes much to these feelings, that southern Asia is, and has been for thousands of years, the part of the earth most swarming with human life. . . . Man is a weed in those regions" (De Quincey [1821] 1995: 64-65).

Recurring associations of "dreams" and dream-like distortions with the Indian landscape suggest that the formation of these images can be considered in terms of the production of a dream: the persistent theme of "anxiety," the "residues" provided by the British landscape, the "wishes" projected upon India by the British, and the resulting "manifest" landscapes of colossal and miniaturized India. Since fieldwork uniquely situates archaeologists inside these landscapes, their work is susceptible to distortion by the powerful "Indian dream" process. I suggest, then, that much as an Indian village has different "pasts," and as Indian objects have multiple "lives" (Cohn 1987c; Davis 1997), India itself has many "landscapes" in which it is easy for archaeology to lose its focus.[3]

## Anxiety Dreams: The Landscape of India

In guidebooks and museum displays, descriptions of landscapes serve as introductions to the unfamiliar, placing the reader in a perspective appropriate to the impending experience. Landscape representations such as Fodor's are meant to reassure and help the tourist situate herself properly within the

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[3]In my discussion of landscape and the "dream process" I do not mean to imply that individual archaeologists are disoriented or lack focus. My argument is twofold: (i) that the early exploration of India by the British created exaggerated landscape images within which India is still seen and experienced; and (ii) that, regardless of the intentions of individual researchers, archaeology often serves the larger purpose of maintaining these landscapes.

scenery of a foreign land. From the evidence, the western traveler to India has always needed a great deal of assistance. Just before arriving in India, one eighteenth-century traveler wrote of

> a secret uneasiness, for which I was unable to account -- I wished to proceed, and yet some secret foreboding whispered to my heart that I was on the verge of calamity: so powerful was it, and so obstinate, that I could neither reason away its admonitions, nor resist its impressions; and something incessantly told me, in as plain language as if a human spoke, that I should suffer a dreadful misfortune (Campbell [1795] 1807: 284-285).

That prescient traveler was thrown ashore in a violent shipwreck and taken prisoner by Hyder Ali. Even the very land itself threatened, as William Hodges discovered when, overcome by heat and dust, he wearily paraphrased Lucan:

> The helpless traveller, with wild surprize,
> Sees the dry desert all around him rise,
> And, smother'd in the dusty whirlwind, dies (1793: 133).

Anxiety and shock still incapacitate travelers to India. Distress is so much a theme of Indian tourism that alienation is now an anticipated feature in a landscape promoted as "most exotic, bizarre and elusive" (Ellis 1990: 15). V.S. Naipaul wrote of his first trip, "[A]s India had drawn nearer, I had felt more than the usual fear of arrival. . . . in spite of all I had read about the country, nothing had prepared me for it" (1964: 42-46). Octavio Paz, overwhelmed by "an excess of reality" at the end of his first day in India, found

himself overcome with "dizziness, horror, stupor, astonishment, joy, enthusiasm, nausea, inescapable attraction" (1997: 12).

The intensity of the alienation expressed by European and American visitors indicates that not only is the visitor disoriented upon reaching India, but she actually has reached a place that should not exist -- to use Wolpert's (1991: 1) term, she has entered India's paradox. A century ago, a prominent archaeologist alluded to this paradox when he described India's geography:

> India is a complete cosmos in itself; bounded on the north by the Himalayas, on the south by the sea, on the east by impenetrable jungle, and only on the west having one door of communication, across the Indus, open to the other world (Fergusson 1899, 1: 4; emphasis added).

Fergusson further hinted why it is that India must be located in an alternative world: "What, however, really renders India so interesting as an object of study is that it is now a living entity. Greece and Rome are dead and have passed away" (Fergusson 1899, 1: 4). The magnitude of India's otherness lies, in other words, not just in the catalogue of its differences, but in the paradox that it exists at all -- Greece and Rome are dead, we moderns are alive, therefore India is a living contradiction and must actually be in an alternative world, governed by different laws of time and space.

Although travel literature often promises that the past will "come alive," coming face to face with that reality is shocking; the traveler stays sane by

resolving the paradox, again by imagining India as another world. To visit ancient places in India is to leave the planet. One hovers nearby -- as when the Government of India suggests that India (represented by the Taj Mahal) is "the closest you can get to heaven while still on earth."[4] Circumstances are similar at Sanchi, which a New York Times headline locates "in, but not of, this world."[5] Or one might be displaced still further afield:

> To step into Hampi, the modern name of the remains of the bazaar of Vijayanagar, was a little like traveling in space only to find Mars had long since been colonized, civilized to the point of wonders beyond belief, then abandoned and squatted-in by man's modern cousins. To step out from Hampi was like arriving on the moon, unreal landscape in every direction (Haag 1995: 174).

That a place of great antiquity still palpitates with life strikes that particular foreign tourist as fantastical:

> I stepped off the bus in the morning at Hampi Bazaar, a place so bewilderingly strange to Western eyes that I could hardly believe I was seeing it. . . . There were multitudes crowded between the huge broken columns, sitting about in the streets, walking up and down, staring at the occasional foreigner.
>
> It was as shocking as if one were to find the Athenians serving tea and having babies among the pillars of the Parthenon, or the farmers of Colorado storing their harvest and selling tortillas out of the cliff dwelling of Mesa Verde (Haag 1995: 173)

And he resolves his perplexity by denying what is happening before his eyes in real time, not by imagining a period of time as lived in Hampi, but instead by

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[4]Chicago Tribune, 2 April 1995: sec. 12, p. 12.

[5]New York Times, 19 November 1989: sec. 5, p. 19.

assimilating the action of the bazaar into a time that has meaning for him alone at that moment: "columns, habitations, people, and straw. It was a bit, I guessed, like the stables at Bethlehem two thousand years ago" (Haag 1995: 173).

The dilution of India's shocking antiquity with something familiar suggests that the Indian landscape for the western foreigner, whether colonist or tourist, was and continues to be "uncanny." The déjà vu of travel can be understood in terms of Freud's theory of the uncanny (Porter 1991: 12, 170); it similarly encapsulates the precise mixture of familiar and unfamiliar that reduces the shock of India to a manageable anxiety. According to Freud, "heimlich" (corresponding to the English "canny") usually signifies both "what is familiar and agreeable" and "what is concealed or kept out of sight," but oddly encompasses in its many shades of meaning one that is identical to a contrary term, "unheimlich." This opposite word usually connotes "unfamiliar," but Freud discerns another meaning -- "that which ought to have remained secret and hidden but has come to light." He traces in Grimm's dictionary succeeding uses that demonstrate how the familiar and hidden develops in the direction of the uncanny, dangerous and portentously revealed (Freud [1919] 1955: 224-226). The particular uncanny effect that encompasses the colonial experience of alien antiquity occurs "when the

distinction between imagination and reality is effaced, as when something that we have hitherto regarded as imaginary appears before us in reality" ([1919] 1955: 244). In India when the traveler encounters the paradoxical -- when Hampi, clearly "ancient," is discovered to be teeming with life -- the experience is uncanny.

The uncanniness that persistently attaches to India's antiquity makes India difficult to locate in real time and space, since its location in an "other world" leaves ample space for the imagination to fill. It is no coincidence that a preeminent modern storyteller, Steven Spielberg, would situate a story about antiquity and the landscape in India.[6] Indeed, it can be argued that the enormous critical and financial success of Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom, and of the new ride at Disneyland based on the film, owe much of their success to ancient India's lack of specificity in the western imagination. No other ancient civilization could possibly synthesize familiarity and

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[6]For all its action, Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom (Lucasfilm Ltd., 1984) is ultimately a story about antiquity and landscape, and the inability of Indians to safeguard either: The American archaeologist crash lands in an Indian village, where the landscape is bleak and dry. The village elder explains that the village's very ancient lingam was stolen from the temple and the "wells dried up, river turned to sand, crops were swallowed up by the earth, animals laid down and turned to dust." Eventually all the children were stolen from the weakened village and turned into slaves. After recovering the antiquity, Indiana Jones decides not to put it in a museum ("It would be another rock collecting dust") but instead returns it to the village temple. Joyfully, the children return home and "the barren countryside has been reborn. . . . streams flowing beneath green trees, flowers blooming and peasants harvesting golden grain in the fields" (Huyck and Katz 1984: scene 175).

unfamiliarity to the degree necessary in popular Euro-American culture: Egypt's antiquity is too well-known; Mesopotamia's too obscure (and both associated with real-life terrorism); China is too far away and too alien; Central and South America are too close and too familiar. Only in India is antiquity sufficiently recognizable without being so familiar as to distract the viewer with inconsistencies or unrealities.

The Government of India currently entices the foreign tourist with a similar combination of the familiar and the unfamiliar, promising a vacation leavened with trepidation. Modern comforts -- not nausea, panic, or even uncanniness -- are what it advertises, but it unwittingly taps the larger narrative of paradox and anxiety in its competition for the antiquity- and adventure-seeking tourist. Egypt simply suggests, "I wish I was in Egypt." Israel asserts, "Israel: No one belongs here more than you." Especially in contrast to Turkey's soothing "The architecture is magnificent, the hospitality is divine," India's tag-line sets off an alarm: "India: Everything you'd never expect."[7]

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[7]The Chicago Tribune Magazine, Part 2, 16 March 1997, p. 7; The New Yorker, 10 March 1997, p. 7; The New York Times Magazine, Part 2, 2 March 1997, p. 35; The Atlantic Monthly, April 1997, p. 9.

**Day Residues: The Landscapes of England**

The nonspecific and malleable antiquity that characterizes India in the twentieth century originated, I argue, in aesthetic appraisals of the Indian landscape formulated by the British during a span of seventy years, from roughly 1760 until 1830. The political status of the British in India during this period was "ambiguous and uncertain," balanced as it was among a number of competing powers. Many British who lived and worked in India were infused with admiration for its institutions, traditions, and antiquity (Dyson 1978: 10; Suleri 1992: 33). This was an interval of "pre-Romantic, pretechnical . . . free-floating" orientalism, just before the advent of the organized, academic version (Said 1978: 118-119). After this period, with the defeat of the Marathas in 1818 and the consolidation of large areas of India under British power, cultural sympathy and respect for India's institutions and traditions dwindled rapidly, replaced by more critical, disparaging analysis and reform movements (Suleri 1992: 33, 209, n. 16; Bearce 1961:153-164). British travelers would then move differently through the landscape, "the room available for imaginative play . . . limited by the realities of administration, territorial legality, and executive power" (Said 1978: 169).

Before the British imagination ossified, however, the aesthetic impressions of late eighteenth-century "free-floating" travelers had created

powerful images of the landscape of ancient India. Prefiguring the eventual colonial belief that "real" India was ancient and rural (Hutchins 1967: 156), these early British residents were profoundly affected by a rural Indian landscape dominated by two features: villages and ruins. In their early analyses of these, the British articulated a moral landscape within which their own worth as rulers could be measured. In this project they were heavily influenced by perceptions of similar features in the "heimlich" moral landscapes of home. The physical appearance of rural England was dramatically altered in the course of two major landscape movements in the eighteenth century. In the first, industrialization and the accelerated pace of agricultural field enclosure transformed both the countryside and the economy, impoverishing farmers, moving them and villagers into towns and cities, and obliterating the vista of an open countryside with hedges and fences. The result of this process was a collective memory of a recently lost "golden age" of open fields, rural simplicity and harmony with nature, a template readily available to the colonizing mind exploring "unheimlich" India.

Coincident with the enclosure process was the second landscape transformation, the construction of expansive and elaborate landscape gardens which used scenery to order and articulate moral statements about the world and society. Analogous to the "memory" of a golden age induced by

industrialism and enclosure, hidden in the scenery of all important gardens was the hermitage, an imaginary antique symbolic of ambivalence and loss, which referenced a long-departed English landscape. When explorers, art historians, and archaeologists would later appraise India's "unheimlich" antiquity, the "heimlich" golden age image and fantasy of the garden hermit would become devices for narrating England's burgeoning modernity and inscribing colonial ambition.

### *Enclosure and the Memory of a "Golden Age"*

The English rural landscape was transformed in the mid-eighteenth century when, in a process sanctioned by Parliament, open fields of long custom were divided and separated by hedgerows, fences, ditches, and thickets. Field enclosure was not a new process, but previous undertakings had occurred on much smaller scales in slow cycles of improvement. The acceleration of enclosure in the eighteenth century, and the superintendence of the government, revolutionized agricultural practices, livestock herding, and ideas of private property, and visually transformed rural England.

Before enclosure, cultivation occurred in large open fields of 400 or 500 acres surrounding a village. The village's farmers owned different-sized allotments of half-acre strips of land within these fields, usually scattered

throughout different fields. Decisions about crops and fallow periods were made jointly; small landholders might combine efforts to plow, contributing in proportion to their holdings. After the harvest arable fields became common grazing land. Meadows were allotted in proportion to arable holdings for the purpose of growing hay, and afterwards converted to common use (Curtler 1920: 10-13; Slater 1907: 4). Additional lands available for common use to freeholders were the surrounding woods and waste land. The poorest villagers had no rights to farm, but subsisted by converting waste land as best they could.

Land, then, was owned and cultivated by individual farmers, with decisions about crops and livestock made communally, and land converting from individual use to common use according to the phases of the agricultural year. The "commonable" nature of the open field system was a distinctive feature of the pre-enclosed eighteenth-century village. In the most general sense the entire community, whether parish, hamlet, village or township, could be considered a single farm occupied and cultivated by shareholding partners, who experienced a "village cataclysm" when Parliament acted to enclose their land and sent commissioners to measure, value, and divide previously commonable land into individually owned holdings (Slater 1907: 4).

Earlier attempts at enclosing fields and pastures had been local ones, often for the purpose of creating large sheep runs to benefit the wool industry, and were generally opposed by non-industry rural parties and the legislature. In contrast, the mid-century enclosure movement was favored by freeholders and, with the full backing of Parliament was designed to transform the entire countryside for the progressive purpose of improving agricultural yield and the quality of livestock (Curtler 1920: 147). Acts of Parliament began enclosing fields early in the century, but in the 1760s and 1770s their frequency accelerated until after the turn of the century (Horn 1980: 50; Curtler 1920: 148-149). Thousands of Parliamentary Acts of enclosure were passed, at first enclosing arable fields, and later the wastes. The pace was extremely fast; in the first sixty years of the century, 152 Acts enclosed approximately 240,000 acres; in the last forty years, 1,479 Acts enclosed 2.43 million acres (Curtler 1920: 148). Radical as the change was, the benefits were obvious to many farmers. Enclosed land could be better managed; kinds of crops and rotations could be better matched to types of land, drainage could be improved and controlled, trespassing was minimized, and livestock could be segregated, controlled, and improved. More land was available for cultivation, not only through the reclamation of waste land, but also by the conversion of the old long, narrow strip allotments into rectangles which could be plowed crossways.

Innovation was possible, such as turnip cultivation on land newly freed from seasonally grazing livestock, and the resourceful farmer was freed from the burden of combining his lot with less competent neighbors (Curtler 1920: 229, 171; Slater 1907: 81).

Although the benefits to agriculture were obvious, the effects were not all benign. Economic relationships were thrown into disarray, and families were permanently estranged from land they had worked for many generations. The costs of enclosing fields were high and borne by the farmer; many small landholders were ruined and forced into wage labor. The poor were pushed further to the margins when no longer allowed to exploit waste land, fish or scavenge on common lands, or glean from the open fields (Horn 1980: 53-54; Slater 1907: 262-266; Evans 1983: 142-143). New patterns of consolidated landholdings often bore little resemblance to the old scattered ones, and farmers moved their residences to be closer to their fields, weakening the coherence of the village (Rowley 1978: 128-129). In parts of England arable land was converted to pasture, resulting in eventual depopulation of those areas (Slater 1907: 264).

It is difficult to overstate the transformative effects of eighteenth-century enclosure on England's rural landscape. At the beginning of that century England resembled more the Middle Ages than the landscape it would

become a hundred years later. Three-fifths of it lay in fields, "its agriculture still rude and primitive, and large areas still in a wild state" -- in a word, open (Curtler 1920: 138). By the end of the century, one no longer traversed open countryside, but instead respected property boundaries and used newly laid roads, whose hedged borders often made them dark and gloomy (Horn 1980: 52; Curtler 1920: 173). The overwhelming sense was that a natural landscape had disappeared displaced by a manmade one. The enclosed landscape of the village of Olney in Buckinghamshire, the poet William Cowper observed in 1783, "like the English countryside in general, is as artificial as any urban scene" (in Turner 1980: 15).

The shift in the course of the industrial revolution from work ordered by the seasons in the countryside to industrial wage labor in towns and cities was accompanied by an unprecedented growth in the urban population. Agriculture on improved enclosed fields produced far above the old subsistence level, and was well suited to stoking the demands of this growing urban market. Impoverished cultivators often moved to new industrial towns or the growing cities. Large-scale Parliamentary enclosure came at the end of a period of rural consolidation and completed the conversion of the peasant farmer into a wage laborer (Evans 1983: 143). As the final phase in this consolidation, the "cataclysm" of enclosure appeared to many as nothing less than the death

rattle of the ancient in advance of the modern -- the complete "extinction" of the ancient communal way of life in favor of one based on the designation and maintenance of private property (Slater 1907: 2; Curtler 1920: 2-3).

The perceived loss of an ancient rural way of life by the process of enclosure remains one of the major "myths" of modern England (Williams 1973: 96). The village probably encompassed a multigraded inequality and significant variation in different localities; it is likely that enclosure and attendant urbanization did not so much transform the village community as envelop what it had already become (Williams 1973: 102-103). The rapidly disappearing landscape of open-field agriculture, however, supplied an obvious backdrop against which to write the drama of wrenching social and economic change. Ancient English villages were eulogized as paragons of agricultural cooperation, "homes of free cultivators, self-sufficing, and more or less isolated from the rest of the world" (Carrington 1907: xii; Curtler 1920: 9). When this isolation could no longer bear up under modern pressures, enclosure forced a sense of nationhood; paradoxically, as it closed in on itself, the countryside looked smaller but felt larger: "Common field Agriculture was a survival of customs and institutions which had grown up when each village lived its life to a great extent in isolation. It was necessary that the villager should almost

forget that he was a little Pedlingtonian to realise that he was an Englishman" (Carrington 1907: xii).

The British eye was prepared, then, to recognize something very recently lost in England when it first beheld life in the villages of India. As official attention turned to colonial governance of villages and the question of rents and assessments, the apparent cohesiveness and, it is argued, the wide open spaces of Indian villages were visually reminiscent of what was being effaced in England, and administrative reports referenced what was lost, as well as what was found. Consider that the most famous description of the Indian village, the one that would undergo two hundred years' recycling in official accounts, begins with an aesthetic assertion and a trace of wistfulness: "I admire the structure of the village communities . . . [they have] nearly everything that they want within themselves, and almost independent of any foreign relations. They seem to last where nothing else lasts" (Metcalfe 1833: 470).

In spite of the interest in landscape representations, the effects of industrial and agricultural developments were conspicuously absent in the landscape art of the eighteenth century. Industrialism and attendant social changes were extensively documented by agricultural writers, but rather than memorialize technological change or radical innovations, artists and their patrons worked in a classical idiom to portray rural harmony and stability,

creating English versions of the classical landscapes of Poussin and Claude one hundred years earlier (Prince 1988). Painters and the landowners who employed them were well aware of contemporary social upheaval, and efforts to idealize the English rural landscape were directed at effacing it. In its "reassurance that the poor of England were, or were capable of being, as happy as the swains of Arcadia, their life as delightfully simple and enviable" (Barrell 1980: 6), landscape painting marked awareness of the diverging realities of landowners and workers. By modeling the increasingly remote world of rural labor as a golden age Arcadia, painters smoothed away real tensions and stress created by enclosure and industrialization, and located rural agricultural work in an idealized past.

In the most general sense, a "golden age" is a manner of idealizing the past in a vague and unspecific way, creating a memory of a mythic, not an historic, past (Lowenthal 1985: 371-372). The eighteenth-century recasting of rural England as Arcadia was more than mere nostalgia, however. In this specific historical moment, the image of a "golden age" was a distinctive way to understand a changing landscape and the social relations occuring within it. The accelerated pace of enclosure and the rapid course of industrialization located the most dramatic landscape changes in the countryside. Because of

this, eighteenth-century golden age thinking was especially graphic -- it connected the good and virtuous life with the memory of a specific place.

The original Greek concept of a golden age designated "an imaginary existence different from the hardships of real life . . . always placed somewhere or sometime outside normal human experience, whether 'off the map' in some remote quarter of the world, or in Elysium after death, or in the dim future or distant past" (Baldrey 1951: 83). Ovid was the first to invest the real-world region of Arcadia with a "mythical cosmogony" that made its residents the original settlers of Rome, and pushed their origins to a time before the existence of the moon. By later setting his poetry in this Arcadia, Virgil associated this place with a simple, pastoral way of life, creating in the process "a new visionary realm," the utopian image we have today of Arcadia (Panofsky 1963: 226-227).

The power of pastoral imagery rests in its concise summation of a specifically urban sentiment rooted in a sense of loss and longing, namely "that natural men are purer and less vicious than cultivated men, and that there exists between them and Nature a special sympathy" (Kermode, quoted in Halperin 1983: 56). The most evocative pastoral images are those that exploit this contrast by emphasizing the opposed values belonging to the urban world and the pastoral image that it projects into being. Thus, different ages invoke

different pastoral images, centering on points of tension in the originating urban culture (Halperin 1983: 65-57). Pastoral images illustrate these contrasting values by means of scale, usually "between the little world of natural simplicity and the great world of civilization, power, statecraft, ordered society, established codes of behavior, and artifice in general" (Halperin 1983: 66).

An image of "Arcadia," then, is grounded in an awareness of contrasting values and ways of life, and the realization that a "great world" is dissociating and moving away from a "little world," itself subsiding into an ever-receding past.[8] The Arcadian image through which eighteenth-century English painters chose to model differences between the prevailing "great world" of industry and commerce and its origins in a simpler, more "natural" past way of life was purposefully English in style, with the figures in the landscapes by Constable, Gainsborough, and others now identifiably the rural poor of England, not of Roman Italy (Barrell 1980: 6; Bermingham 1986: 10). Modeling rural England as a rustic Arcadia idealized the countryside and rural work in ways

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[8]Although golden-age Arcadia is most associated with periods of classical and European art and literature, similar formations are found in times of ambivalence about modernity. It could be argued, for example, that the family farm of the midwestern United States currently is taking shape in the American imagination as one of these Arcadias. The components of the image are present: a life of hard work close to the soil, associated with superior moral virtues, situated in an easily imagined "small world" that is quickly fading from reality.

that would be abandoned in later periods. As industrialization progressed, agricultural labor had fewer real connections to the "great world," and longings for pastoral simplicity became less intense. By the nineteenth century, the two worlds disconnected and "Arcadian England" disappeared. The countryside became a recreational space for beleaguered urbanites to reconnect individually with nature and observe the "natural" inhabitants, organically of a piece with their surroundings. Agricultural work "was subsumed within a time-scale so long that only the most enduring and unchanging elements were regarded as significant," and representations of it were emptied of ambivalence and tension (Prince 1988: 116; Barrell 1980: 31-33; Bermingham 1986: 83).

To maintain a critical distance from the realities of the rural working poor, the great world of commerce and industry edited out of its landscape representations signs of distress, or modified them significantly. The growing popularity of touring for the purposes of "picturesque" landscape appreciation further affirmed the remembered rustic countryside as more in harmony with nature than the artificial, industrializing real landscape. Industry was accepted as necessary and economically desirable, but its dramatic effect on the rural panorama heightened the appeal of opposite values for the imagined and remembered scenery of the past. As the foremost picturesque critic William Gilpin explained,

> In a moral view, the industrious mechanic is a more pleasing object, than the loitering peasant. But in a picturesque light, it is otherwise. The arts of industry are rejected; and even idleness, if I may speak, adds dignity to a character. Thus the lazy cowherd resting on his pole; or the peasant lolling on the rock, may be allowed, in the grandest scenes, while the laborious mechanic, with his implements of labour, would be repulsed (1786, quoted in Barrell 1980: 167 n. 58).

Touring occurred within the same reflective, golden-age sensibility as landscape painting, and English analogues to classical scenery -- spectacular natural scenery, especially in Wales, and authentic British ruins, such as Tintern Abbey -- became popular destinations. The history of tourism at Tintern illustrates the composition and proprietary "censorship" of the recorded landscape. The Cistercian abbey at Tintern, in Wales on the Wye River, had been founded during the twelfth century, and closed four hundred years later during the Reformation. The buildings were partially dismantled, and what was left quickly deteriorated. By the eighteenth century its appeal lay in the beauty of its decay and its remote, wooded location. The roads to Tintern were virtually impassable; tourists took boat tours down the Wye, visited the ruins, and made a return trip. In the latter half of the century, Turner, Wordsworth, and Gilpin visited Tintern to sketch or write. By then the abbey was surrounded by a community of cottages made from stone pillaged from its buildings, occupied by workers employed at a nearby ironworks and wire manufacturing plant. The cottages were built around the

abbey, and the forge was situated a few hundred yards from the abbey church. Signs of modern activity in the Tintern scene were usually omitted from sketches and paintings (Ousby 1990: 117-121).

The region surrounding this most famous of Gothic ruins was populated by "robbers, outcasts, aliens, the aged, the sick, the orphaned, the mad" (Roe 1992: 130); the ruins themselves were inhabited by a "community of destitutes." Generally, eighteenth-century travel literature remarks upon "cripples," beggars, and other unfortunates inhabiting ruins; less notice is taken in the next century, perhaps as experience of "temporary inhabitants" became an accepted part of the tourist experience (Ousby 1990: 121, 134). The industrialization and active destruction of the Abbey received little notice in visitors' accounts, but during these early tours interactions with the resident destitutes became part of the reported experience. Though experienced in quantity, they are detailed in their singular, opposing relation to the visitor. William Gilpin was shown the abbey's library by one ancient woman:

> She could scarce crawl; shuffling along her palsied limbs, and meagre, contracted body, by the help of two sticks. She led us, through an old gate, into a place over spread with nettles, and briars; and pointing to the remnants of a shattered cloister, told us, that was the place. It was her own mansion. All indeed she meant to tell us, was the story of her own wretchedness; and all she had to shew us, was her own miserable habitation. We did not expect to be interested: but found we were. I never saw so loathsome a human dwelling. It was a cavity, loftily vaulted, between two ruined walls; which streamed with various-coloured

> stains of unwholsome dews. The floor was earth; yielding, through moisture, to the tread. Not the merest utensil, or furniture of any kind, appeared, but a wretched bedstead, spread with a few rags, and drawn into the middle of the cell, to prevent it's receiving the damp, which trickled down the walls. At one end was an aperture; which served just to let in light enough to discover the wretchedness within (Gilpin 1792: 51).

Opposition was framed in terms of "ownership"; in reality, Tintern was owned by Lord of Chepstow, but the fact of its existence as a ruin engaged the tourists consuming Tintern's scenery with the destitutes living in it. "It was her own mansion," Gilpin writes, "We did not expect to be interested: but found we were."

Whose sensibilities and knowledge had greater claim -- the visitor from the "great world" or the resident of the "little world" of Tintern itself? One tourist wrote in 1798, "the task of being the historian of the abbey had for several years devolved on the veteran, a few abstract and unconnected ideas floated in his vacant mind, which had been so long stationary there, that he imagined him brain the sole repository of information and himself the only genuine chronicler" (Andrews 1989: 104). The aesthetic judgments of the indigent residents of Tintern similarly provoked the picturesque tourist. In an effort to please, the poor inadvertently violated the "authenticity" of the wrecked abbey, laboring to cover the ground "with a turf as even and trim as that of a Bowling-green, which gives the building more the air of an artificial

Ruin in a Garden, than that of an ancient decayed Abbey" (Andrews 1989: 102).

*The Landscape Garden and the Imaginary Hermit*

The eighteenth century was the defining moment for another massive alteration of the countryside, the English landscape garden. As laborers worked in a real outdoors that seemed increasingly artificial, the upper classes enjoyed an artificial landscape made to seem natural. The increased efficiency of enclosed fields made former agricultural land available for ever-expanding garden projects. Formal, small-scale gardens had completely fallen from fashion in favor of expansive gardens modeling "natural" views; enclosure was the "continual background" of these creative endeavors (Bermingham 1986: 10-12; Hussey 1967: 15). Spectacular gardens were created during this period -- Stowe, Stourhead, Rousham, Castle Howard -- and many minor ones, typically thirty or forty acres in size, appropriating the sweeping views of the pre-enclosed agricultural landscape.

European garden styles grew out of traditions of using landscape to represent ideals and the order of the universe (Giamatti 1966: 94; Jackson 1980: 44-45). The small and isolated medieval herb garden gave way suddenly in the seventeenth century to a strikingly reordered and visual space of the

"classical" style of garden. A marvel of harmony and order, which "offered a model of what Europe hoped to become: spacious, rational, and entirely human," the seventeenth-century classical garden was "the first coherent manifestation of a new way of organizing the world -- in terms of well-defined, carefully planned spaces: nations, provinces, landscapes, gardens, and cities, each of which conferred a new kind of identity on its inhabitants" (Jackson 1980: 45; 53).

The displays of wealth and erudition in the European classical garden soon were soon overlaid by cultural characteristics differentiating French, Italian, English, and Dutch gardens. By the eighteenth century, English reaction against French social, artistic, and political authority would manifest itself in the English style of gardening. French gardens of formal design were felt to enforce limits on the mind of the visitor, and France's garden design was linked with the ideology of its tyrannical government. The great landscape garden movement in eighteenth-century England was ignited by the desire to assert English democratic values in the face of French autocracy. Instead of forcing ostentatious order on nature, as alleged in the French practice, English gardens sought to promote liberty; instead of radial avenues and triumphal arches, the English garden would model liberty with "natural" scenery of woods

and fields where the thoughts of a visitor could roam free (Hunt 1976b: 63; Hunt and Willis 1988: 7-8).

The classical garden outline was not entirely rewritten in England, and the Italianate garden with its links to ancient Rome was especially prized (Hunt and Willis 1988: 8). Given the early development of a specifically "English" landscape in the context of political conflicts with the French, it is not surprising that the garden soon became a major scene for assertions of "Englishness," and that classical antiquity eventually provided a pattern for the evolution of an English imperial style. While the design of French formal gardens had been tours de force for architects and surveyors, English "political gardening" was rather the province of philosophers, poets, politicians, and noblemen (Clarke 1973b:566). At its most expansive, many different artistic endeavors united in an "art of landscape," attempting to articulate the relationship between humans and nature (Hussey 1927: 4). In the sense that landscapes can be understood as representational practices central to the development of imperialism (Mitchell 1994b: 9), the creation of landscape gardens were significant rehearsals of later English imperial values.

Instead of conquering nature, English gardens aspired to harmonize human efforts with the natural landscape already in place. To that end, the English revived the classical idea of the "genius loci," the guardian spirit of a

place. Classical spirits could be either good or evil (Lewis 1966); the genius of a garden place typically was benign, and consisted of the "hidden, retired, or anonymous life in nature, which is perceived only with difficulty" (Hunt 1992: 225) and which needed to be invoked for the successful improvement of nature in the garden. Poetic appeals to the genius of the place often referenced the nationalism implicit the English garden, meditating "on English landscape as alma mater -- where landscape is storied England, its legends, history, and rural-reflective spirit" (Hartman 1970: 319), and the successful landscape garden emphasized this with classical architecture. If properly invoked, the gardener successfully connected with nature; the local genius fused with the wisdom of the gardener, and brought the authority of antiquity to bear on the garden's claim as sacred, and peculiarly English, space (Hussey 1967: 14; Hunt 1992: 227).

The sprawling English landscape garden was designed to be walked through, "to stimulate the minds of its visitors by presenting them with a various assortment of statues, busts, inscriptions, and temples" (Hunt 1976a: ii). The astute viewer "activated" the scenery as he toured the garden, designed as a theater of scenery within which to rehearse heroic action. The resemblance of the landscape at Stourhead, for example, to the depictions of the myth of Hercules made the myth available for reenactment outside in a

tour of the garden. Inside Stourhead House hung a painting by Nicolas Poussin, "Hercules at the Crossroads," portraying a moment when the hero was faced with a moral choice -- whether to lead a life of vice or of virtue.[9] In the garden outside, the tourist animated the myth when he was required to choose one of two paths: a smooth, wide land around a lake, or a steep, craggy climb up a hill. Choosing the more difficult path led to the Temple of Apollo and a splendid view of the lake. The lofty views rewarded by the virtuous choice were contrasted at other points at Stourhead with a sequence of grottoes anchored by a Hermitage. The grottoes "make us aware of the elements, earth, water, and air"; the hermitage represents the contemplative alternative to the heroic life. The larger tale told at Stourhead was, then, "a parable of questing: an enactment of two contrasting states of awareness on the road to moral choice and achievement" (Charlesworth 1989: 74-75).

A more detailed look at the construction throughout the century of another garden emphasizes the expanding status of the garden as an arena for moral and political expression. Stowe garden in Buckinghamshire was one of the oldest, largest, and best financed of the great eighteenth-century gardens. Unique among them, it underwent significant construction during all fashions

[9]The "choice of Hercules" was a popular morality tale taught in eighteenth-century schools, and would have been familiar to anyone visiting the house or garden (Charlesworth 1989: 71).

and major phases of the landscape gardening movement and, thanks to the nineteenth-century impoverishment of its owners, still retains evidence of those shifting definitions (Clarke 1973a: 558; Robinson 1990: 20). The most illustrious gardeners of the century worked at Stowe, including William Kent and Lancelot "Capability" Brown, and it was the original site of many landscape innovations -- it contains one of the first European Egyptian-style buildings, one of the earliest English neoclassical buildings, and an early precursor of the next century's Gothic architectural revival. Alexander Pope was a frequent visitor and probably an eminence grise in much of its mid-century design. In short, Stowe was a place much visited and written about by eighteenth-century politicians, literary figures and influential families. By mid-century it was widely considered "the age's ultimate physical statement of Ideal Nature" (Lang 1983: 53), and because its owner was a Whig enemy of the Prime Minister, it was also the center of much political plotting.

An early version of the current garden at Stowe, the family home of Sir Richard Temple, was laid out along traditional formal lines in the 1680s when a new house was built. This linear, European-style garden existed with only minor embellishments for forty years; when Sir Temple was made Viscount Cobham, he aspired to improve his estate and gardens in keeping with his growing position, and an enormous construction project was begun. Very

quickly Stowe was renowned for the views available by touring its gardens. Walking through the landscape provided changing views at each turn, delightful scenery encompassing such entertaining features as an Egyptian-style pyramid, a version of Augustine's Cave, and temples to Bacchus and Venus, and an eleven-acre lake.

By the 1730s Stowe's landscape appeared far too stylized and formal for the changing tastes of the day; touring it was much like "turning the pages of a scrapbook, where the reader wearies of disconnected snippets and longs for some continuity of theme" (Clarke 1973b: 566). During a second phase of landscaping, a moral and heroic theme was introduced with the installation of Stowe's most distinctive feature, the Elysian Fields. Designed by William Kent, possibly inspired by an allegorical dream, and quite probably heavily influenced by Alexander Pope, the construction of the Elysian Fields marked the beginning of the "political gardening" for which Stowe was to become famous (Clarke 1973b: 566-567; Lang 1983). The epitome of "emblematic" landscape gardening, the Elysian Fields incorporated the values of Whig politics and cleverly satirized the political battles then raging between Lord Cobham and the Prime Minister, Robert Walpole. Its form incorporated allusions to classical antiquity in the style of Italian Renaissance gardens, manipulating nature to express moral values. In the style of Roman "sacred

landscapes," the Elysian Fields encompassed both secluded areas available for quiet contemplation, and "wilder" landscapes appropriate for religious buildings, and symbolized the paradisiacal reward for the virtuous life (Robinson 1990: 87; Clarke 1973b: 567-568).

In the Elysian Fields one approached the "River Styx" through a pathless meadow, taking in an array of ancient and modern themes poised to direct the mind of the viewer. The classical Temple of Ancient Virtue housed four statues of famous Greeks and faced, across the River Styx, smaller busts of modern luminaries in the gothic Temple of British Worthies. From either side of the river, the Styx perfectly mirrored the temple opposite, heightening the pictorial quality of the "sacred valley" (Clarke 1973a: 562). Behind Ancient Virtue stood the Temple of Modern Virtue, a carefully designed "ruined" building with a headless statue of Walpole.

Emblematic design was sustained throughout other parts of the garden, focused on representations of modern liberties in the idiom of ancient architectural forms. The garden's "ideological climax" was its Gothic Temple, representing freedom and dedicated "to the Liberty of our Ancestors." Ranged around the Temple were seven marble statues of the Saxon deities for whom the days of the week are named (Robinson 1990: 101-103). Alexander Pope's deep interest in Roman antiquities is thought to have influenced the frequent

references to Greek and Roman antiquities in the Stowe landscape, which aspired to model "a world image" similar to that achieved by Hadrian in his villa in Tivoli (Lang 1983: 53-54).

The emblematic character of the Elysian Fields required the viewer to enter and decode the scenery. The modern corruption of ancient ideals conveyed by the Elysian Field Temples was fairly obvious and easily deciphered by visitors. But much of the garden's political iconography was so complex and multilayered that meanings easily went unread by the less astute. Nonetheless, the unsophisticated visitor responded enthusiastically, to Stowe's other aspect -- the clever combination of seemingly wild landscape and decorative elements -- the Hermitage, a Chinese House, an elaborate version of the ferme ornée, where cows grazed next to a Palladian bridge and a Gothic temple (Clarke 1973a: 561-562; Robinson 1990: 91).[10]

The opportunity for private appreciation of Stowe's landscape provided by these decorative elements prepared the garden for its final phase, when emphasis shifted from the shared decoding of public emblems to idiosyncratic, individual reaction to the beauties of landscape. The objective of this last

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[10]The ferme ornée never became popular in the eighteenth-century landscape, since even this prettified reference to reality intruded on the separation of the landscape of ruling-class virtue and the one of agricultural work. "In general, the period made an increasingly rigid distinction between the landscape garden as the natural domain of the landlord and the agrarian landscape as the appropriate province of the laborer" (Bermingham 1986: 30).

phase of construction at Stowe was to create the most beautiful, seemingly natural, scenery possible, to allow the mind of the visitor to wander freely, undirected by emblems. The naturalized landscapes designed by Lord Cobham and his head gardener, Capability Brown, relied less on sculptural and architectural embellishments and more on alterations to the land itself, culminating in the enormous excavation that created a "Grecian Valley" edged with transplanted trees.

After Cobham's death in 1749 Stowe's landscape continued to evolve according to the desires of his less visionary heirs. The new iconography grew less complex, and drew increasingly on the expanding modern empire rather than on ancient imagery. Stowe's "image of the world" expanded with the empire; the Grecian Temple was converted to the Temple of Concord and Victory, decorated with medals commemorating British victories abroad and a relief depicting the four corners of the world paying homage to Britannia (Lang 1983: 56).

Contemplation in the landscape garden was not exclusively focused on virtues and heroism; contrary, ambivalent overtones were also present in a variety of ways. That the Elysian Fields was the final resting place for the virtuous indicates that beneath the theatrical recreation of classical allegory lay the complementary subject of the afterlife. This was especially apparent at the

Elysian Fields of Rousham Garden where the introduction of pastoral emblems evoked the then-popular "Et in Arcadia Ego." The "mortuary associations" interjected by Death lurking in Arcadia were further emphasized by the inclusion of artificial ruins in gardens. What "attracts one to ruins is their incompleteness, their instant declaration of a loss which we can complete in our imaginations" (Coffin 1986: 416; Hunt 1992: 179).

The most expressive landscape emblems surely were the various abodes of the hermit. With the passion for exotic architecture and classical and pastoral scenery, a "Grecian shepherd-boy with pipes and little flock, nymphs to swim in the ornamental lake, a swineherd in the gothick taste, or a Chinaman in the pagoda, all seem as likely as a hermit," yet no other living ornament resided in the eighteenth-century garden, except the sought-after hermit. The "collective imagination was fired only by the thought of a tall lean figure with a long beard and flashing eyes, striding in a hairy robe through the park or contemplating in a rocky recess," and any garden aspiring to greatness contained, if rarely an actual hermit, certainly a hermitage or a "beggar's hut" (Jones 1974: 177; Hussey 1927: 133).

The occasional hermit residence was fashioned in a natural cave, but more commonly hermitages were built structures, planned to seem organically part of the scenery, sometimes designed as already in ruins. Wood, preferably

gnarled and diseased, was the material of choice for the framework, which was then finished with moss and lichen, knotty pine, and diseased elm, with bark on the walls and ceilings. Mosaics of pebbles and knuckle-bones formed a floor. Furniture was fashioned from lumps of diseased elm, branches and cow's horns. A great deal of work went into maintaining the desired state of deterioration, and real decay set in quickly; consequently, only three of these rustic hermitages remain standing today (Jones 1974: 180-182).

In building hermitages, garden designers were imaginatively inserting into their constructed landscapes a small piece of the medieval world, for actual hermits were exceedingly rare creatures in the eighteenth century. From the twelfth through the sixteenth centuries religious seclusion had been a widespread phenomenon in England, with hermits, anchorites, and other solitaries belonging to many parishes throughout England, in villages, towns, and cities (Warren 1985: 18; 36-37; Clay 1914: 66-72). Contemplatives lived along a spectrum of seclusion. Anchorites were strictly enclosed in chapels, caves, and cells, supported by patrons or communities. Other solitaries were "working hermits," visible participants in the community infrastructure who inhabited bridges, roads, turnpikes, rivers, seacoasts, and fens, and served variously as caretakers, guides, light-bearers, and laborers (Warren 1985: 16-17; Clay 1914: 49-65). Although solitaries seemed to live outside of time,

living to ancient ages and sometimes dying unnoticed, they were very much a part of the community, its ultimate public servant. Whether through reclusive prayer or hard labor, the hermit was "a carrier for the moods of contemporary society. He both shared and gave form to the values of his patrons. He acted out what was understood to be the best life for every man" (Warren 1985: 17)

The medieval hermit modeled his life after the early Christians who fled persecution to live in austerity and prayer in the Egyptian desert, and stories of these "desert fathers" had a strong hold on the English imagination of the time (Davis 1985: 213; Hunt 1976b:2-3). Christian wilderness theology traced the spiritual lineage of the hermit still further to Elijah and John the Baptist, according him prophetic power (Warren 1985: 9; France 1996: 29; Clay 1914: 146). The hermit's "need to live as a stranger," with the attendant desire for silence, was difficult to maintain in the face of his power as a prophet and doomsayer. He needed alienation and silence, and lived outside laws and monastic rules of behavior, yet continually he was sought out for advice and arbitration (France 1996: 29). When he did speak, he spoke as God's "voice in the wilderness," and so was to be feared as much as respected. Whether secluded in cells and caves or working at bridges and turnpikes, hermits were constant reminders of the virtuous life.

The course of the Reformation closed monasteries and, by the mid-sixteenth century, forced all solitaries out into the open, banishing many and killing some (Clay 1914: 183-192). By the time of the fashionable "ornamental hermit" two hundred years later, monastic life had only slowly begun to return to England, accelerated by repatriation and emigration caused by the French Revolution (Bellenger 1985: 343-344). During its long absence the monastic life had grown unfamiliar and seemed ostentatiously pious in a way that made both Protestants and Catholics uneasy. The prospect of a revived monastic way of life threatened conceptions of family and community; still further out on the margins of that community, hermits were "linked to ideas of oddity, even incipient madness . . . an excrescence of nature" (Charlesworth 1989: 74). Any censure implied by the existence of the hermit was entirely imaginary.

The eighteenth-century fashion for inserting hermitages into gardens is sometimes attributed to the same odd whims that created "sham" versions of ruins, churches, castles, towers, pyramids, and labyrinths. Seen this way, the hermitage was only one of a whole variety of pre-Romantic garden "eyecatchers" (Jones 1974: 31). Or, it is suggested that the presence of a hermitage was an efficient way for a "man of sensibility" to signify an inclination to solitude and melancholia, to balance conspicuous consumption

in London society and fashionable tastes in architecture and literature (France 1996: 86-87). Much amusement is found in the lengths to which such men went to lure hermits to their gardens -- placing advertisements in newspapers and contracting the applicants not to speak and never to cut their hair or nails. Wanting for human candidates, resourceful garden-owners artfully strewed bones or clothing as if the hermit had just stepped out; placed a stuffed hermit in a dimly lit room; or, in one case, built a clock-work effigy (France 1996: 88-89; Jones 1974: 182, 184).

The effort expended in even the most overtly "political" gardens to accommodate non-existent hermits indicates that hermitages were more than mere fashion or shallow diversion. The placement of vestiges of the past within the garden indicates a larger significance: the garden not only embodied contemporary aspirations and herioc behavior, but also provided a model of time. Simulated ruins were built conventionally at the far edges of gardens, with hermitages still further hidden in woods and rocks (Jones 1974: 2, 71). By walking to the edge of the "world image" that was the eighteenth-century garden, one left the present-day and entered the past. As with the "liberty" expressed in the natural scenery of the English garden, eighteenth-century "longings," newly oriented both to the future and the past, were given free rein.

The selection of the hermit, rather than the nymph or the shepherd, to

evoke the landscape of the past reveals apprehension underlying the growing empire. The hermit was not a comforting presence, and the frisson derived by collectively pretending that he lived in silent reproach on the edge of the "world image" tempered imperial ambition with the weight of responsibility. At the same time, the hermit was nearly not human, a forbidding "excrescence" of nature. The few remaining sham hermitages demonstrate the powerful evocation of "otherness" out of time radiated by the hermit's presence. The remaining structures are highly prized today not just for their historical value but also, with their hovering presence of living antiquity, for their ability simultaneously to attract and repel:

> It was . . . a mixture of gnome's house and horror, with a huge chimney and thatch from the fairybook pictures and then, under the thatch, the architecture of bark and disease . . . [inside, the] table was the upturned smooth top of the largest imaginable lump of elm disease sawn in half, nearly 5 feet across scattered with bones. Three triangular stools of remarkable rustic discomfort and an occasional chair completed the furniture; nothing seemed to have been destroyed, the [unglazed] windows were complete, the chairs unbroken, the bones waiting on the table. . . .
>
> The bark and nails, the bones and diseased wood, the crazy irregularity of the immovable chair which so startlingly lacked the rickety dangers of the rustic chairs in our own summer-house, all produced unease, but the dim bedroom was really terrifying with tiny windows for warmth, darkened by trees very close to them; much of the faint light came through a fanlight from the other room.
>
> There was a heavily encrusted fireplace with a deep mantelpiece, crowned with a wooden entablature. Beside it under a window was a seat and against the inside wall the hermit's frugal bed, a wooden rack with some old sacks (he would be

> coming in again in a moment). There was even a bedside chunk of wood and a stool set into the wall at the foot of the bed for any disciples that might wish to sit there, and overhead again the encrustations and the awful fringes (Jones 1974: 183-184).[11]

## Wish Fulfillment: The Landscape of India

The successful engagement of the domestic British imagination was of critical importance in every stage of the colonization of India. Especially after 1857, as controversies about ruling India eased and the British presence stabilized, the British imagination focused more on the colonial responsibilities that fate seemed to have scripted. The models for imperial destiny were, of course, classical. In a speech in 1898, on the brink of his departure for India, the Viceroy-Designate Lord Curzon reminisced with old schoolmates:

> [At Eton] we were perpetually invited . . . to contemplate the pomp and majesty, the law and the living influence, of the empire of Rome. . . . Sir James Stephen came down to Eton and told the boys that listened to him, of whom I was one, that there was in the Asian continent an empire more populous, more amazing, and more beneficent than that of Rome; that the rulers of that great dominion were drawn from the men of our own people, that some of them might perhaps in the future be taken from the ranks of the boys who were listening to his words (1900: iv-v).

Being more populous, more amazing, and more beneficent than Rome, the modern empire, it was implied, could also be more durable; over time an

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[11]This is a description of the Sanctuary of the Hermit Finch at Burley-on-the-Hill in Leicestershire, destroyed in a fire in 1965.

"illusion of British permanence" came to characterize the relationship with India in the British consciousness (Hutchins 1967: 201).

India's own permanence was evident to the very earliest British visitors, as a scenery full of ruins substantiated claims to an ancient, if obscure, past. For the colonists to sustain a sense of destiny in the face of this omnipresent antiquity required that they adequately document their own Indian origins. The process of recognizing India's antiquity -- its past permanence -- and assimilating it into a colonial, future-oriented permanence, meant irrevocably altering some aspects of India, and leaving others untouched. "[B]oth the good and the evil of the Roman Empire are probably reproduced in British India," Henry Maine wrote. "British India teaches us that part of the destroying process is inevitable. . . . On the other hand, certain institutions of a primitive people, their corporations and village-communities, will always be preserved by a suzerain state" (Maine 1907: 235-236). The necessity for judicious destruction and preservation induced cycles of anxiety about the competence of the British in the face of India's complexity and, in turn, about the stability of their own illusion of permanence. "It is when one realises the entire incompatibility of eastern and western civilisation that one realises the extent of the task on which we have entered in setting ourselves to substitute the one for the other. . . . we really are nihilists" (Cunningham [1882] 1970: 24 ).

Indian archaeology is as much a product of these contrasts and conflicts as it is of stratigraphy and the development of excavation methods. As the field science of antiquity, its priorities and techniques evolved in sympathy with the desire to recognize and respect ancient India while managing also to commemorate the new British variant. The geographer John Brinckerhoff Jackson has suggested that a society which defines its origins in legal or political terms, whose beginnings can be identified in contractual declarations and constitutions, will memorialize those origins in monuments and anniversaries of specific events. In contrast, a society which sees itself as having slowly evolved will commemorate its origins in the landscape, perhaps looking back to a golden age of environmental harmony (1980: 100). Not surprisingly, colonization complicates recognition and commemoration, especially when the colonizing nation deeply invests in its own permanent presence. When Lord Curzon characterized the Anglo-Indian colonial relationship, he used both landscape and monumental imagery:

> I sometimes like to picture to myself this great Imperial fabric as a huge structure like some Tennysonian 'Palace of Art,' of which the foundations are in this country, where they have been laid and must be maintained by British hands, but of which the Colonies are the pillars, and high above all floats the vastness of an Asiatic dome (Curzon 1915: 28).

When he further located India's material antiquity, "the most glorious galaxy of monuments in the world," in his Asian firmament, Curzon identified

antiquity as the symbol of colonial permanence in the British consciousness (Curzon 1906: 192). Anxieties and distortions can be located at just that juncture, in competing visions of antiquity and permanence, located in the places where origins are celebrated.

Decisions about destroying and preserving grew out of aesthetic judgments and competitive statements formulated during early British experiences of the Indian landscape. Since habits of landscape reading had been formed in Britain, India proved at first hard to decipher, as James Forbes discovered in 1778. The collector at Dabhoi in Gujarat, Forbes created a garden at his home in "as much as possible after the English taste," on six acres between a ruined mosque and the Narmada River. Achieving an English lawn defeated him, but a daily eight hours of irrigation by three gardeners and an assistant brought forth a beautiful garden of Indian and Chinese flowers, mango, tamarind, and banyan trees.[12] One pleasant morning he was moved to compose a verse, inspired by the urn he had dedicated to the local water nymph. In the traditional fashion of the garden, he began his poem by calling

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[12]Forbes's district contained the ruined fort of Dabhoi (12th and 13th century temples and fortifications). In 1783 control of this area was returned to the Marathas, and Forbes departed. He requested to be given pieces of Dabhoi, "remains of Hindoo antiquity, in broken columns, mutilated images, and remnants of basso-relievo . . . which I would bring with me to Europe, and erect a temple for their reception in my own garden." Back in England he housed them in a "Temple of Friendship" in a grove on a lake with lotus flowers (Forbes [1813] 1834, 2: 340-342).

forth the spirit of the place: "Medhumadha, lovely nymph, The guardian of my spring"; eight verses follow, entreating the naiad to make the garden bloom. Forbes was a discerning antiquarian as well as a nature voluptuary, and heeded the classical conventions of the garden poem, though Mitra filled in for Apollo, and the references to Indian nature required eleven footnotes as a gloss. But Forbes's garden harbored other spirits in addition to the resident sprite. Gujarat had serpents in larger variety than he had ever known in Bombay or elsewhere, and one type in particular

> seemed peculiarly partial to the shrubs and creeping plants which overshadowed the large well in my gardens; these the gardeners would neither destroy, nor suffer to be molested, as they looked upon them to be the genii, or guardian-angels of the garden, and often invoked them, under the endearing appellations of father, mother, and other respectful and affectionate epithets. . . . Whether our hortensial snakes were evil genii, or guardian-angels, I shall not determine. I never disturbed them until I had erected a cold bath in an orange and lemon grove for my sister. . . . one morning she was alarmed by a rustling among the palmyra leaves which covered the bath; and looking up beheld one of the garden genii, with brilliant eyes, under the expanded hood of a large cobra de capello, pushing through the thatch, and ready to dart on the fountain (Forbes [1813] 1834, 1: 480-481).

It could be expected that Forbes would have difficulty reading the attitude of his genius loci -- the British presence in the wilderness of India was not yet secure during this free-floating period. Forbes's choice of something familiar and hidden (a naiad) to counteract something unfamiliar and which should

remain hidden, suggests the extent to which the British would be affected by the uncanny nature of the Indian landscape.

The uncanniness of India at this time was further highlighted by "doubling" in some narratives -- occasions when the colonial explorer, scholar, or tourist comes in contact with a native manifestation of his ambivalence towards India and the fears of his own extinction (Freud [1919] 1955: 234-235). When, for example, mock ruins and imaginary hermits were revealed as real, the effects could be unsettling. Near the end of his last tour of India in 1823, James Tod rose at sunrise to contemplate his life against the landscape of ruins spread out before him, from a location high in Mount Girnar in Saurashtra. His reverie was cut short, however, by the unexpected arrival of a "maniac":

> My solitude was disturbed by a being whose approach I had not perceived, and who silently took his seat before the shrine of Goruknat'h. A rag of cloth was his sole covering; his loins were girded with a rope of hair, and his whole frame and matted locks were smeared with ashes. His features were fine, his figure manly and well-formed, but though not above twenty-two, he had already attained a low degree in the degradation of humanity. . . . In a few minutes, there were certain indications of the spirit, expressed by contortions of the muscles of the face, writhings of the frame, and agitations of the neck and heart, as if the infernal divinity he worshipped had inspired him. When the fit was over, he rose, threw himself into attitudes, howling "Aluc! Aluc!" I allowed time for these ravings to subside, ere I disturbed him, for the speculation of his mind's eye was too cloudy to see me; but in vain did I endeavour to extort a sound from him. He heard, and

> even smiled, but this smile was the sole symptom of consciousness he evinced of my presence. . . .
>
> [He departed and] I remained for some time upon the platform of the saint, musing upon the singularity of the encounter. There is always something awful in the absence of that god-like attribute, reason, and a certain feeling implanted in our nature makes us hasten from the contemplation of an object from whom the Almighty has hidden his face. But there was no mode of escape here from one who seemingly partook of the maniac and the demon, placed as I was upon a pinnacle between three and four thousand feet from the plain. Such speculation, however, never occurred to me, and my sole sensations were those of melancholy excitement and deep compassion for this outcast of Nature (Tod 1839: 385-386).

At the end of his journey, the last in a long career of exploration, Tod reviewed all the amazing sights he had witnessed in his diverse world travels; "none produced such sentiments as I experienced on the summit of the seven-peaked Girnar, with the maniac Aghori," surrounded by "the remains of faded glory" (1839: 400-401).

## The Manifest Dream: Twentieth-Century Empiricism

Having examined some British "dream thoughts" relating to the encounter with pre-colonial India -- the "residual" habits of landscape reading and the "wishes" colored by ambivalence and anxiety -- we are left with the result, the dream images about ancient India that travel literature, movies, museums, and book reviews employ as self-evident facts. The early ideological readings of the Indian landscape, and the empirical "facts" resulting from them,

are of interest to the archaeologist because just as nationalism is one repository of empirical truth about India (Ludden 1993: 272-274), so too is antiquity. The configuration of India's great antiquity as two distinct landscapes, the outsized and dramatic world of spectacular and decaying ruins, and the miniaturized and stable world of the unchanging Indian village, has had profound consequences for the practice of archaeology.

In the first landscape, the insertion of the colonial self into the ruin created beliefs that Indians are never truly in harmony with the spirit of the place. The contemporary extensions of this theme are that Indians cannot appreciate antiquity correctly, as outsiders can, and that the methods by which modern nations safeguard antiquity are strictly limited. Anything else would be irrational, or insensible, as India appears in the still-influential 1950s British work, The Pleasure of Ruins:

> The question arises, why have so many beautiful Indian cities, ruined by enemies or abandoned by caprice, been left in their ruins through the centuries? Money has not lacked: the rich Rajahs who ruled the provinces spent lavishly on their new cities . . . Amber, Chitor, Halebid, Vijayanagar, Gaur, Mandu, a score of other exquisite ruined towns full of costly palaces and noble temples could have been restored and inhabited, had their rulers or their conquerors been so minded. Instead, they were left to decay. . . . Was it inertia, or distaste for the shattered and discarded, or for the towns of the conquered foe, or was it something subtler, the half-conscious, eternal love of ruin . . . Indians cannot tell you; perhaps they do not know. . . . perhaps it was the nomadic instinct, working on a royal scale (Macaulay 1953: 279-280).

Truly modern societies organize their ruins; the viewer is secure when visiting them:

> The famous deserted Roman towns of Italy -- Pompeii, Herculaneum, Ostia and the others -- unlike those crumbling tropical ex-capitals which contend against the encroachments of forest and modern building, present to the world an aspect less brittle, more established and secure. They have achieved ruin; they have been disinterred, set in order, we know where we are with them (Macaulay 1953: 286).

Furthermore, the ways in which archaeologists themselves featured prominently in the restoration of monuments and in debates about historical geography suggests that the habits of heroic reenactment encouraged in Curzon and his classmates long remained alive and well. Consider Mortimer Wheeler, who "finds" the Rome that Indians possessed but failed to recognize: Wheeler's native assistants "were doing useful work with the coin finds, but inevitably it fell to Rik himself to make the dramatic scoop" (Hawkes 1982: 239). In the section of his autobiography called "The Promised Land," he explains,

> I penetrated into the Government Museum [in Madras] and at leisure explored its inmost recesses. The sequel may properly be described as dramatic.
>
> In a workshop cupboard my hand closed upon the neck and long handle of a pottery vessel strangely alien to that tropical environment. As I looked upon it I remember recalling that provocative question in the Legislative Assembly at New Delhi: 'What has Roman Britain got to do with India?' Here was the complete answer. Here was indeed much more than the complete answer. In my hand I held the first key to the protohistoric

> archaeology of South India, of half a million square miles of Asia (Wheeler 1955: 193-194).

As for the miniaturized image, early British observations of rural India established the village community not only as an observed way of life, but also as the primeval condition of an ancient, unchanging landscape. The identification of customs as "immemorial" positioned the ancient village as the mythical point of origin for significant colonial narratives. As "structures of feeling" (Williams 1973: 12), golden ages can be continually recycled, as when Indian nationalist interpretations of the village community continued to look to antiquity for validation. Even as contemporary villages have come to be seen as complex, regionally diverse communities, the ancient community has continued to be regarded as stable and unchanging. The power of a golden age to typify diversity and flatten time has resulted in a settlement archaeology meaningful only for time periods with little contemporary resonance -- the prehistoric and, very recently, the beginnings of historic urbanism. Issues of change and diversity in regional settlement systems are frequently not perceived as archaeological research problems, and much historical archaeology in India focuses on changes in technology and the plastic arts, providing "tangible" answers to questions posed by historians.

The second chapter of this dissertation examines early British visits to India's ruined scenery, within the eighteenth-century elaboration of the

sublime aesthetic. The sublime encouraged contemplation, the "elevation" of the viewer and the gradual insertion of his increasingly important self into the landscape. The result was the eventual dissociation of Indian antiquity from the Indians of the past who created it and the modern Indians who might claim it. Lord Curzon, ever-fond of monumental imagery, foretold how agreeable India's remains could be, remade as British legacies, and how once so endowed they would persist as sites of nationalist conflict well after his day: "I am not one of those who think that we have built a mere fragile plank between the East and West which the roaring tides of Asia will presently sweep away . . . . That is not my forecast of the future. To me the message is carved in granite, it is hewn out of the rock of doom -- that our work is righteous and that it shall endure" (Curzon 1905: 437).

The third chapter addresses the processes that typify and flatten Indian rural time and space in the context of beliefs about ancient Indian villages. The negligible contribution of archaeological knowledge to conceptions of past life, and the robust elasticity of "time immemorial," are discussed in terms of (1) early British perceptions of the Indian village as a primeval "natural" community, a relict image against which an expanding empire could measure itself; (2) efforts in the first half of the twentieth century to resuscitate an ailing rural India by "reviving" ancient village institutions; and (3) the

inclination of the rapidly industrializing world of the late-twentieth century to perceive "continuity" and "timelessness" in rural Indian communities.

The fourth chapter describes the work of archaeology, as it developed out of the efforts of early antiquarians such as Tod and Forbes. The intensive fieldwork of James Fergusson, who traced architectural styles across India, and Alexander Cunningham, who meticulously plotted ancient pilgrimage routes, is described. It is argued that an eventual identification of archaeology as work in the "open air" was a way that "real" archaeologists, primarily British, distinguished themselves from antiquarian amateurs, mostly Indian. At Independence, when the urgent desire to leave Indian antiquity in responsible hands necessitated a swift induction of natives into the "open air" brotherhood, Mortimer Wheeler conferred upon India a Roman heritage, a most spectacular addition to its "colossal" landscape.

The final chapter details my own fieldwork, an attempt to subvert the two landscapes of Indian antiquity. I argue that exaggeration -- the overstatement of the colossal and the oversimplification of the miniature -- exposes these landscapes as places where knowledge has been "subjugated" (Foucault 1980: 81-83). It is argued that archaeology's marginal contribution to images of Indian antiquity has resulted from the "struggles" that occurred in and over the composition of ancient landscapes. One marginalizing effect has

been that the priority of understanding ancient urban centers, inherited from a colonial focus on monumental ruins, has created a serious void in historic archaeological studies of rural complexity. Results from my survey of first millennium A.D. villages in Amreli District which argue against exaggerated antiquity are discussed -- the focus on groups of villages, the fluctuations they exhibit in a specific, local landscape through time, and the relationships of ancient villages with other types of contemporaneous settlements.

## Chapter 2

## COLOSSAL ANTIQUITY: THE ROCK OF DOOM

The likelihood of strange experiences in India, especially ones inducing fear and anxiety, was a particular enticement to a small group of British travelers in the late eighteenth century. Although a general awareness of India existed in Britain at this time, details of the subcontinent were few since only small portions had been thoroughly explored by the British; first-hand descriptions, communicated through drawings, paintings, and written reports, now shaped the domestic awareness of India (Marshall 1990: 49-50). According to reports sent home, the landscape was dominated two features: villages and ruins. For the British explorer in search of aesthetic immersion in India, the first of these was easily summed up: "The villages are neat and clean, and filled with swarms of people" (Hodges 1793: 17). India's ruins,[1] however, required a closer look.

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[1]The term "ruins" for the current purposes encompasses all post-Harappan, pre-colonial architecture -- secular, religious, or monumental -- existing in some form of disrepair, decay, or disuse.

British discovery of India's antiquity occurred during a time of intensive debate over the fundamental identities of nature and art, and the problematic location of ruins on the very boundary between them. Appreciation of Britain's own ruined scenery was well established by this time. The great shift in taste that occurred over the course of the eighteenth century began with a movement away from classical formalism, with its codified standards of beauty and its appeal to reason; the study of the material remnants of the past in Great Britain was now less concerned with classical standards and more with analysis of homelier Gothic architecture and speculations about Druids. The century's shift from a stable configuration of principles -- fixed, balanced and rational -- to individual sensational and imaginative responses, meant that personal experiences had to be translated into communally understood idioms, and also that the realm of locations and objects which provided these sensations was much enlarged.

The new aesthetic categories developed in this move "from classical calm to barbarian excitement" (Piggott 1976: 118) over the course of the eighteenth century coincided with increasing British curiosity about India, and were therefore available for analyzing the strangeness of India's material antiquity (Dewey 1982: 688; Archer 1980; Archer and Lightbown 1982). Long before the identification of archaeological "sites," complex assumptions about India's

ancient landscape were in place, central to the ways in which the British colonial power "imagined its dominion" (Anderson 1991: 164). What follows is a brief consideration of the modes of perception that were being debated during the discovery of India's landscape, and the special problems that ruins, especially India's ruins, posed.

The growing preference for individual enjoyment of the scenery in the landscape garden coincided with the habit of touring the country in search of landscape views. Stowe's contribution to the undirected, associative landscape fashion, its Grecian Valley, "makes no claim upon our intellect"; just as with reenactments of moral behavior in the older, theatrical garden, the viewer remained the center of the experience as the "subtle varieties of the valley afford a landscape that seems to answer our moods" (Hunt 1992: 87). So, too, in touring. As the contained scenery of the garden grew familiar and too tame a venue for rehearsing heroic and moral behavior, novel landscapes, preferably filled with wild nature, were sought as ideal destinations in which the individual viewer could be tested.

Travel abroad was already a popular activity; the original inspiration for emblematic garden forms had been the Roman scenery of the Grand Tour. Grand Tourists sought out "scenes," and "prospects," experiences which were compelling, but not altogether pleasant. Fearful of imminent danger while

ascending the Alps, at the summit Joseph Addison's imagination was freed and his mind expanded. "The Alps . . . fill the mind with an agreeable kind of horror, and form one of the most irregular, mis-shapen scenes in the world" (Nicolson 1959: 305-307). Natural vastness, either observed first-hand or evoked rhetorically, had this effect. The scenery of Paradise Lost, or the "rude kind of magnificence" of an immense ocean, massive mountains, or the unlimited vistas of a desert -- each of these "strikes the Imagination with something astonishingly great and wild" (Addison, quoted in Hipple 1957: 16-17; Nicolson 1959: 306).

Addison's 1712 "Essay on the Pleasures of the Imagination" articulated the fundamentals of such experiences and initiated the century-long discussion of them, leading to the revival of one old, disquieting category, the sublime. Searchers of sublime expanses combed the "rude" aspects of the European landscape, particularly the mountains, in "a thirst for the awe-ful, the shivering pleasure of being half scared to death, a roller coaster by mountain-chair" (Schama 1995: 450). The grandiosities of nature provided arenas where one could test the authority of nature, and measure the essential worth of humankind against the most spectacular natural scenes. The term "sublime" encompassed a mode of perception carefully balanced between the perceiving individual and more powerful nature, wherein the individual was always under

threat of being vanquished. Seeking out the sublime moved one away from the familiar and the domesticated into the "realm of estrangement, of power seen as greater than our own" (Ferguson 1992: 44). Most critically, sublime perceptions were struggles for possession, and validated even shameful undertakings; struggles could have overtones of "the wholly immoral 'ravaging conqueror'" and still be sublime, "so long as the object aimed at is vast and great" (Fry :1987: 189; Furniss 1993: 269, n. 15; Monk 1935: 76). It was common in the course of an eighteenth-century sublime experience to spontaneously quote Greek and Latin; if he could rise to the occasion, the viewer could aspire to become an epic hero, to "be taken as a metonymy of his culture" (Ferguson 1992: 38).

So constructed, sublime experiences had a built-in obsolescence. One could not repeatedly confront dangers posed by nature and survive without having the thrill fade a bit; eventually, a diminished nature surrendered some power to the observer venturing through it. Accordingly, as the century itself waned, a related mode of aesthetic evaluation evolved, the "picturesque." Where the sublime concerned "nature's first great dealings," immensity, extremes of wildness and danger, and the expansive, elevated feelings these aroused in the viewer, the realm of the picturesque was the harmony to be found in nature, the pleasure evoked by agreeable compositions of natural

objects and intricate combinations of subtle color and light (Ousby 1990: 152). Moving into the nineteenth century, this "bourgeois taming of the sublime" (Stewart 1993: 75) came to be associated in Britain primarily with scenic tours of the Lake District and the construction of elaborate gardens.

Continually elaborated throughout the century, sublime and picturesque aesthetic reactions became less clearly distinguished from one another, the qualities of both frequently mingling in individual in works of art (Archer 1980: 10; Ousby 1990: 152-154). In both experiences, as in the heroic, moral landscape of the garden, the viewer remained central. A "glorying and sense of inward greatness" always accompanied a sublime experience (Burke [1759] 1990: 46); delight when astonished, even unpleasantly, derived not from characteristics of the astonishing object, but "from the reflection we make on ourselves" at the time of experiencing it (Addison, quoted in Furniss 1993: 23). Gratification in the course of picturesque perceptions was delayed -- "There may be more pleasure in recollecting, and recording . . . the scenes we have admired, than in the present enjoyment of them," but the process of recording eventually flattered the viewer "too with the idea of a sort of creation of our own" (Gilpin, quoted in Hipple 1957: 198). While both the sublime and the picturesque engendered identification and appropriation of the viewed object, their general senses remained distinct: The sublime was what

astonished, elevated, and transported the viewer (Ferguson 1992:37); the picturesque "pleased," and at its core was always identified by what "would look well in a picture" (Ousby 1990: 154, Tillotson 1991: 142).

Adherents of these aesthetic programs constantly assessed the relative powers of nature and art, and probed the boundaries between them. Combined with the practice of touring to experience first-hand the realms of nature and art, eighteenth-century travel in search of the sublime was a course of discovery into the uncharted, the never-seen, an exercise in solitary exhilaration. As the impulse to quote ancient epic poetry indicates, the preferred mode of expression was rhetorical. The picturesque tourist, on the other hand, sought "Nature untouched by man; and yet, when he finds it, he cannot resist the impulse, if only in the imagination, to 'improve' it" (Andrews 1989: 3). The improvement of nature most occurred in the context of a picture. Whether recomposing a landscape by viewing it through a Claude glass, which softened colors and realigned perspectives, or by sketching and painting, the picturesque tourist rearranged natural elements into a more pleasing composition. As unusual landscapes fashioned as "sublime" by individual adventurers became familiar and popular, the aesthetic values of travel evolved from discovery of the new and uncommon into encounters with aesthetically validated commodities, shared by a community of fellow tourists.

The new aesthetics demanded more, however, than appreciations of raw nature. The greatest delight was had in exploring the shifting boundary between nature and art. The landscape garden had successfully blurred the line between art and nature; by "conflating nature with the fashionable taste of a new social order, it redefined the natural in terms of this order, and vice versa" (Bermingham 1986: 14). William Gilpin, the earliest "conscious critic of landscape," styled his first landscape critique as a debate between personified Art and Nature, strolling the grounds of Stowe (Barbier 1963: 110; Gilpin [1748] 1993). Addison's suggestion that "we find the Works of Nature still more pleasant the more they resemble those of Art" was explored in the direct comparisons of natural and artificial monoliths, and in the depiction of large artifacts as natural phenomena (for example, Piranesi's depictions of ruins as natural phenomena) (Hipple 1957: 20; Stafford 1976: 123; Stafford 1977:90).

Ruins posed an unusual problem. Uniquely situated at the exact juncture of nature and art, ruins of all sorts were relished under both aesthetic systems. Greek temples, Tintern Abbey, Stonehenge -- most ruins managed to provoke both the "extravagance of feeling" demanded by the sublime while also satisfying the "detached spirit of connoisseurship" necessary to the picturesque critic (Ousby 1990: 156). But did they belong to art or to nature? If one followed Addison's thinking that we admire nature most when it

approaches art, what about art that was being claimed by nature? Was the proper response to reclaim decaying ruins, and celebrate them as evidence "that the great age of Augustus had once had life on English soil and so, perhaps, could live again" (Ousby 1990: 99)? Or did one agree with Gilpin that "A ruin is a sacred thing. Rooted for ages in the soil; assimilated to it; and become, as it were, a part of it; we consider it as a work of nature, rather than of art" (quoted in Hussey 1927: 196)? The appreciation of "rude" nature made colossal artifacts, especially those with unclear origins, particularly amenable to the perception that nature and art, at an essential level, were one and the same (Stafford 1976: 123). For others, the grander sorts of ruins provoked responses so fraught with moral and religious significance that they were deemed impossible to categorize and were altogether to be avoided (Andrews 1989: 59). In the long cycle from sublime enchantment to picturesque possession and rearrangement, ruins proved perplexing way stations.

The problematic character of ruins was especially highlighted when sublime and picturesque stimulation were sought beyond the borders of Britain and Europe. Foreign ruins, whose pedigrees were obviously ancient but not well charted, provided more appropriate subjects for aesthetic explorations of natural art and artificial nature than the more familiar, almost garden-variety

ruins of England and Europe. Certainly the first experience of most visitors to India at this time was shocking and sublime, and when "free-floating" orientalism revealed the abundant strangeness of India's exotic nature and ruins, artists and explorers were drawn to India specifically with the objective to explore and describe them (Mitter 1992: 120-121; Tillotson 1991: 141, Dewey 1982: 688). Translations of Indian texts and information regarding Indian customs were adapted and packaged in familiar ways for easy domestic consumption (Marshall 1990: 62). So also observers of India's landscape engaged the participation of the domestic British imagination by presenting the exoticism of India in familiar categories, reporting the sublime and picturesque images of Indian antiquity in written accounts, drawings, engravings, and paintings, creating a collective, shared, vicarious experience.

For travelers in India during this time, the circumstances of incipient colonialism cast a different light on the "realm of estrangement" created by sublime aesthetic perceptions. The ambiguity of the British position in India in the late eighteenth century (Dyson 1978: 10; Suleri 1992: 33) contributed to the creation of an ideal sublime environment, a land rife with the strange effects of an alien culture against which one could be "metonymic" of one's own culture. Likewise, once the shock of India's strangeness wore off, the innocent appropriation and rearrangement of landscape elements implicit in

the picturesque experience of domestic landscapes assumed a different tone in a land slowly being expropriated.

At the point of retiring from his Indian career in 1823, the great explorer James Tod perched himself high within Mount Girnar, an "appropriate station from whence to elevate the soul to superior excellence":

> I took my breakfast at a height of nearly three thousand feet above the 'ancient castle,' [Khengar palace] on whose ruins, and from amidst ruins, I looked down. . . . If reflection ever exert its power, it must be in such a position, where, as I sat in solitude amidst the ruins of ancient days, the deep silence only interrupted by the screaming of the kite, or the howling of the winds through the abode of desolation, I looked down upon man and his occupations with feelings of compassion (Tod 1839: 377-379).

By the twentieth century, contemplation of India's ancient landscape had assumed an entirely different quality. Forster's Fielding, having similarly retired, finds both the natural and man-made aspects of India to be emblematic of its great "muddle": "The buildings of Venice, like the mountains of Crete and the fields of Egypt, stood in the right place, whereas in poor India everything was placed wrong. He had forgotten the beauty of form among idol temples and lumpy hills" (Forster 1924: 282). In a hundred-year span the appreciation of India's ancient ruins ran a long course from enthusiastic immersion of the earliest individual explorers of India's antiquity to the rearranging and control of picturesque tourism and official restoration projects. The end of this cycle was preordained: since the sublime required a context of

alienation, it was extremely precarious and subject to easy erosion as surroundings became familiar and less strange. It is necessary, therefore, to consider what aspects of the eighteenth-century sublime created this cycle, and how the sublime provided a way to comprehend India's incomprehensible landscape, and how the ideal sublime destination eventually became the locality where "everything was placed wrong."

Eighteenth-century discussion of the sublime culminated mid-century with the publication of Edmund Burke's A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful. Although a viable aesthetic topic in other times, the sublime was particularly an eighteenth-century concern and was deeply implicated in the evolving cultural and political effects of the industrial revolution, the shaping of middle class values, the French Revolution, and burgeoning colonialism (Furniss 1993: 28, 87; Cosgrove 1985: 223-253; Suleri 1992: 38). Although the Enquiry never explicitly addressed England's colonial undertakings, and was written a number of years before Burke's interest in the East India Company's affairs in India, it outlined aspects of the colonial enterprise and anticipated these later concerns (Suleri 1992: 38). The aesthetic recognition of non-classical art and architecture, along with the increasing consideration given to individual aesthetic reactions, made Burke's work especially pertinent to those traveling abroad. Originally

written to clarify the confusion of eighteenth-century opinions regarding beauty and sublimity (Monk 1935: 85), Burke's extended explanation of aesthetic empiricism and its colonialist subtext makes the Enquiry especially relevant in the reports of the Indian landscape that began reaching Britain shortly after its publication. India in particular seemed tailored to Burke's requirements, where experiencing the sublime aspects of the landscape and communicating them to a domestic audience became a deliberate exercise (Dewey 1982: 688).

The Enquiry was Burke's elaboration of classical ideas relating to the aesthetic perception of beautiful and sublime objects. According to Burke, a "sublime" object was one that astonished and inspired awe, and in his Enquiry, he fully articulated the sublime as an entirely separate aesthetic category (Monk 1935: 72). His focus was an examination of the responses of the human senses to sublime objects; unlike his predecessors who placed the experience of the sublime in the realm of judgment or sentiment (Monk 1935: 97-98), for Burke the empiricist, what made an object sublime was not its manifest characteristics, but rather the emotions and physical reactions that the object aroused in the viewer: love, for a beautiful object, and an electrifying combination of terror and delight in reaction to a sublime one.

Burke devoted much of his explanation of the sublime to this curious requirement of simultaneous terror and delight. The combination was critical and subtle. Life-threatening objects that provoked abject terror were merely appalling; likewise, non-threatening objects which aroused affection, or even passion, but uncolored by admiration or fear, were merely beautiful. Astonishment was the effect sought, "that state of the soul, in which all its motions are suspended, with some degree of horror" (Burke [1759] 1990: 53). When viewed properly, even life-threatening objects could be astonish and be sublime. "When danger or pain press too nearly, they are incapable of giving any delight, and are simply terrible; but at certain distances, and with certain modifications, they may be . . . delightful" (Burke [1759] 1990: 36-37).

The creation and maintenance of this "certain distance" was what supported and sustained a sublime experience. The viewer had always to keep uppermost in mind self-preservation and to invent ways of eluding danger or containing threat:

> [I]f the pain and terror are so modified as not to be actually noxious; if the pain is not carried to violence, and the terror is not conversant about the present destruction of the person, as these emotions clear the parts, whether fine, or gross, of a dangerous and troublesome incumbrance, they are capable of producing delight; not pleasure, but a sort of delightful horror, a sort of tranquility tinged with terror; which as it belongs to self-preservation is one of the strongest of all the passions. Its object is the sublime (Burke [1759] 1990: 123).

Once a sublime object had been located, and the viewer enthralled by means of astonishment and resting in a "sort of tranquility tinged with terror," the sublime experience had a very specific trajectory. In Burke's formulation, the experience lay in the relationship between the object and the viewer and entailed reflecting on one's own reactions to the object, not coming to terms with its "reality." The relationship was one of power: we react with dread and awe to what is sublime because of its appearing greater than we are, for being more, and making us acknowledge its power" (Ferguson 1992: 8-9; original emphasis). The viewer was overwhelmed in the presence of the sublime: "the Mind is entirely filled with its object" (Burke [1759] 1990: 53), leading ultimately to a complete surrender to the object. The mind was not only engulfed but tried, finally, to equate itself with the object; one was no longer a spectator, but rather had become a participant (Stafford 1977: 113-114). This sense of participation or entitlement was, however, dangerously counterfeit; as the classical originator of the concept put it, "Filled with joy and pride, we come to believe we have created what we have only heard" (Longinus, quoted in Fry 1987: 188).

Truly sublime objects were rare and the requirement of astonishment meant that they could be anticipated only to a point. It was, however, possible to delineate concepts that were likely to arouse sublime exhilaration; according

to Burke, these included obscurity, power, privation, vastness, infinity, difficulty, and magnificence, qualities which were at odds with contemporary neo-classic theory, and which contributed to the movement away from classical rules for beauty and taste (Monk 1935: 93-94). In particular, the obscurity found in contemplations of eternity and infinity and the power inherent in extremes of nature were rich mines of sublime images and experiences. Burke was moved by historical descriptions of ancient ruin or the rhetorical portraits of the "other world" of hell. "[W]e are more deeply affected," he wrote, to read about the realities of the destruction of Macedon and the death of Alexander than by fictional stories of triumph and prosperity (Burke [1759] 1990: 42). Historical constructions of epic disaster were not the only images of the past which conjured the sublime. "Rude" monuments such as Stonehenge were also sublime, by virtue of their inherent obscurity and the difficulty represented in their construction (Burke [1759] 1990: 71). Similarly delightful in its difficulty and confusion was Milton's evocation of eternity and ruin in his description of Satan, comprising

> images of a tower, an archangel, the sun rising through mists, or in an eclipse, the ruin of monarchs, and the revolutions of kingdoms. The mind is hurried out of itself, by a croud of great and confused images; which affect because they are crouded and confused. For separate them, and you lose much of the greatness, and join them, and you infallibly lose the clearness (Burke [1759] 1990: 57).

The animal world also provided Burke with an opportunity to weigh the relative sublimity of domesticated and wild creatures.

> We have continually about us animals of a strength that is considerable, but not pernicious. Amongst these we never look for the sublime: it comes upon us in the gloomy forest, and in the howling wilderness, in the form of the lion, the tiger, the panther, or rhinoceros. Whenever strength is only useful, and employed for our benefit or our pleasure, then it is never sublime; for nothing can act agreeably to us, that does not act in conformity to our will; but to act agreeably to our will, it must be subject to us; and therefore can never be the cause of a grand and commanding conception (Burke [1759] 1990: 60-61).

Twenty-six years after publishing his Enquiry, Edmund Burke drew upon his contemplation of vast, immeasurable objects in the course of his Parliamentary discussions of India. The Regulating Act of 1773, the first governmental attempt to reign in the extensive powers exercised by the East India Company, had failed. Burke, having studied "the India problem" for many previous years, and having spent much of his life immersed in the problems generated by abuses of power in America, Ireland, and France, now focused his creative energies on calling the Company to account for its misdeeds.

In one of his most significant addresses on this issue, his Speech on Fox's India Bill, Burke explained that central to the task of justifying Parliamentary interference in the operation of the Company was the condition that "the object affected by the abuse should be great and important" (Burke

1981: 387). That India was such an object Burke established by a detailed description. Its size, antiquity, and variety made India difficult to register by its very immeasureability: "All this vast mass, composed of so many orders and classes of men, is again infinitely diversified by manners, by religion, by hereditary employment, through all their possible combinations." India's inhabitants were "a people for ages civilized and cultivated; cultivated by all the arts of polished life, whilst we were yet in the woods." Further representation of India, beyond noting its near ineffability, was frustrated because "we look at this very remote object through a false and cloudy medium" (Burke 1981: 389-390).

With the location of aesthetic experiences in the landscape, and the tradition of local touring and the Grand Tour to experience them, the novelty of the European landscape eventually was exhausted, sending travelers further afield for stimulation. Particularly for those in search of antiquarian stimulation, locations close to home eventually offered only the commonplace. As inspiration for undertaking "antiquarian, mythological, and topographical labours" in India at Ellora, John Seely cited the Quarterly Review's lament of the diminished prospects afforded by an overly familiar landscape:

> Every nook in our island has now been completely ransacked and described by our tourists and topographers. If we call over the counties one by one, these historians will be seen marshalling their ranks in quarto and in folio. The humble antiquary ekes out

> his octavo with chronicles of shrieves and mayors, and transcripts of the wills of the founders of the green-coat school and the alms-houses; and every hamlet, raised by the opulence of the state into the rank of a watering-place, possesses some elegant Guide (Seely [1825] 1975: ix-x).

For early orientalists such as Seely, a change of venue east promised a "salutary derangement" of the European routine (Said 1978:150). Not only was the nascent Indian colony a sublime object to savor from afar, peering through a "false and cloudy medium"; India presented the ideal obscure setting in which to seek the sublime first-hand.

**Sublime India: "I was filled with new wonder at every step."**

When Gulliver set off on his second journey, bound for the west coast of India, a storm blew his ship off course and he landed instead in Brobdingnag, a land of giants. The grass towered at twenty feet, the corn at forty; the height of the trees was beyond estimation. Gulliver was threatened and mauled by an enormous cat, mice, and a monkey; if not consumed by this abundance of nature, he feared being devoured by the monstrous humans he found living there (Swift 1986 [1735]: 71-145). English travelers of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries who purposely landed in India searched out a real-life variant of Gulliver's inverted world, their accounts only slightly more believable than his. Touring the country in search of sublime venues to sketch

or write about, these British explorers moved through a landscape of unimaginable natural lushness and encountered magnificent ruins of unknown age or origins.

Arriving at Fort St. George in 1780, the artist William Hodges felt transported to "a Grecian city in the age of Alexander," where the "clear, blue, cloudless sky, the polished white buildings, the bright sandy beach, and the dark green sea, present a combination totally new to the eye of an Englishman" (Hodges 1793: 2). Nature appeared out of normal proportion, sometimes grotesquely so: bats like harpies, with wingspans over six feet, gargantuan banyan trees, and ruined buildings in "acres of desolation," the province of "tigers, hyenas, and jackals; the abode of monkeys, guanas, serpents and noxious reptiles" (Forbes [1813] 1834, 2: 269, 17-23, 190-191). It was often necessary to hack through impenetrable jungle, climb hills, forge torrents, and dodge tigers to attain a desired landscape perspective or reach a particular ruin (e.g., Salt 1819: 49-50; Archer 1980: 39-42; Forbes [1813] 1834, 1: 269-270). And the ruins were stupendous; first experience of "broad vistas and gigantic monuments" inspired repeated visits to record with great detail landscapes of wild nature and "pleasing decay" (Archer and Lightbown 1982: 70). The size of the monuments was of a scale commensurate with the luxuriant foliage

engulfing them, designed, it seemed, to "induce their posterity to imagine 'there were giants in those days.'" (Tod [1829-32] 1971, 1: 571).[2]

William Hodges, skirting the turmoil of the Second Mysore War in the south and the Marathas in the north, made three tours of India between 1780 and 1783. A number of artists followed him, undertaking long, arduous campaigns in the Indian wilderness, stopping at provincial stations, hill-forts, temples, and ruined cities to record their impressions. The most famous landscape artists of India, Thomas Daniell and his nephew William, traveled extensively for over seven years, setting out in 1786 and ranging through Bengal, Bombay, central and south India. The depictions of the Indian landscape produced by British artists during this period were unprecedented in intensity and detail (Tillotson 1991: 141). Europeans had been visiting India for hundreds of years, but in this proto-colonial time of "free-floating" Orientalism, Britain was provided with its first visual images and extensive written descriptions of India.[3] Hodges, who in addition to painting maintained

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[2]This almost nauseating abundance of nature was put to use by Steven Spielberg when Indiana Jones and his companions are set upon by giant vampire bats and serpents, and forced to consume hideous platters of eels, gigantic beetles, eyeballs, and entire monkey heads (Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom, Lucasfilm Ltd. 1984).

[3]The dates of the major written accounts of western India are not easily discerned from multiple editions with varying publication dates. James Forbes (1749-1819) lived in India from 1766 until 1776 and again from 1777 until 1784, and wrote his Oriental Memoirs in retirement, finishing in 1815. James Tod (1782-1835) arrived in India in 1799 and departed in 1823. Compiled from information collected over his entire (continued...)

a journal, had been the official artist on Captain Cook's second Pacific voyage. He hoped in India to make "a few plain observations, noted down upon the spot, in the simple garb of truth, without the smallest embellishment from fiction, or from fancy" (Hodges 1793: iv). Thomas Daniell similarly aspired to record truthfully what he witnessed: "[D]elineation is the only medium by which a faithful description can be given. . . . its representations are not liable to the omissions of memory, or the misconceptions of fancy; whatever it communicates is a transcript of nature" (writing in 1810, quoted in Archer 1980: 224). In addition to responding aesthetically to India's landscape, these artists and explorers viewed themselves as documenters of Indian ruins, advancing the same cause of knowledge as philosophers, linguists, and Asiatic scholars (Tillotson 1991: 145-146).

The images they provided had powerful effects in Britain, fueling demands for detailed, written descriptions of the same and similar sites. In Brobdingnag Gulliver visited an ancient temple and measured a huge finger

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career, his Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan or the Central and Western Rajpoot States of India was published in 1829-32. The accounts cited here are taken from the "personal narrative" section at the end of the Annals. Tod visited Mandore and witnessed the see-kote (discussed below) in 1819, and visited Chitor in 1821. Tod's later Travels in Western India recounts his final tour of 1823 before heading home, and was published in 1839, after his death. There apparently was little to gain by rushing memoirs to print; as Forbes noted, "these Memoirs may perhaps strike the reader as being of a date not very recent; however, we must recollect that the Indian does not change" ([1813] 1834, 1: iii).

fallen off an enormous statue (Swift [1735] 1986: 106-107); so now in late eighteenth-century India, diagrams were made and caverns paced out, with extensive measurements reported home. Elephanta was an especially popular destination, with the dimensions of the Mahesamurti figure particularly celebrated: "From the following measurements of this [central] face, which I with difficulty accomplished, you may form some idea of the whole mass, which I can assure you is an object not only of sublimity but of terror. The length of the face from the place where the crown rests on the head to the chin, is four feet and a half; the breadth from ear to ear, six feet eight inches; the under lip is six inches thick: one of the fingers measured very near four feet in length, and of a proportionable thickness" (Macneil 1787: 272-273). Other cave sites, temple sequences, and huge ruined cities -- Salsette (Kanheri), Ellora, Chitor, Mandore, and Gaur -- were enthusiastically represented in feet and inches after the first admiring, at times rapturous, impression: "On my first approach to this singular and astonishing scene [Salsette], I was filled with new wonder at every step; palaces, statues, giants, monsters, and deities seemed as if starting from the bowels of the earth to open day" (Macneill 1787: 253).

The traveler fatigued by over-familiar Europe and Britain had only to step into India to be overwhelmed; "one cannot move a step without treading on some fragment of the olden times" (Tod [1829-32] 1971, 2: 610). As with

its abundance of nature, India's antiquity was so extreme and all-enveloping that the visitor was struck dumb and, initially, made nearly ill:

> My heart beat high as I approached the ancient capital of the Seesodias, teeming with reminiscences of glory, which every stone in her giant-like hangras (battlements) attested. . . . with the wrecks of ages around me, I abandoned myself to contemplation. Who could look on this lonely, this majestic column, which tells in language more easy of interpretation than the tablets within, of
> 'deeds which should not pass away,
> And names that must not wither,'
> and withhold a sigh for its departed glories? But in vain I dipped my pen to embody my thoughts in language; for, wherever the eye fell, it filled the mind with images of the past, and ideas rushed too tumultuously to be recorded. In this mood I continued for some time, gazing listlessly, until the shades of evening gradually enshrouded the temples, columns, and palaces (Tod [1829-32] 1971, 2: 604).

Much of what was witnessed by the British in India at this time lacked the critical distance that transformed an appalling spectacle into a sublime experience. Practices such as sati or the "horrid scene" of the Jagannath yielded only the most disagreeable horror (Forbes [1813] 1834, 1: 128). Self-preservation was not difficult to maintain, however, in India's ancient monuments, which not only provided oases free of "dangerous and troublesome incumbrance," (Burke [1759] 1990: 123), but were also replete with sublime aspects. Drawn away from home in search of sublime novelty, the artists and explorers who surveyed the remains of India's past were profoundly surprised by their scope and quality, finding many which compared

favorably with the beauties of decaying Europe. The mortarless walls of the "gigantic ruin" of Mandore were reminiscent for James Tod of Etruscan walls attributed to the Cyclopes (Tod, [1829-32] 1971, 1: 572). James Forbes recounted the reaction of a sophisticated English visitor who, familiar with "the most striking objects of art in Italy and Greece," was nonetheless filled with "extraordinary sensations" upon visiting Elephanta ([1813] 1834, 1: 274). Later, Forbes himself was so moved by the ancient buildings of Dabhoi that he was transported fluidly between Gujarat and Pompeii in describing them ([1813] 1834, 1: 534-537).

The human figures in the landscape art of this time appeared as tiny bodies in the presence of sweeping scenery or yawning ruins. The painters represented their personal immersion by the frequent insertions of themselves or fellow artists into the foregrounds (e.g., Archer 1980: 101, 195) as writers did likewise, appealing to the reader to visualize them moving through the landscape. "Let the reader imagine the picture of a solitary Englishman scribbling amidst the ruins," wrote James Tod from Mandore ([1829-32] 1971, 1: 575). Engaging the domestic English imagination was a crucial step in the process of appreciating the exotic sights encountered in India. Continually aware of an audience at home, writers desired to provide detail sufficient "to

serve as the outlines of a beautiful picture, which you may easily shade and colour by the help by a little imagination" (Macneil 1787: 262).

The material remains of India's past were largely cryptic in this time of "pre-academic" orientalism, and the immediate reactions to ruins were therefore as spontaneous as the reactions to any of the non-human aspects of the Indian landscape. A key constituent of sublime appreciation of Indian ruins was the scant knowledge of their origins; the obscurity so generated provided a backdrop eminently suitable for personal reflection. A typical reaction to Kanheri contained ample references to the Burkean sublime -- astonishment at the difficulty of the construction, the presence of wild and alarming nature, exalted views -- all of which in combination enabled the viewer to "lose" himself in the complete obscurity of the setting:

> [A]fter sufficiently reposing in the great temple, a pensive stroll among these solitary and silent mountains is preferable for a stranger: he should leave the companions of his journey for an hour, to enjoy alone the peculiar sensations, on beholding a city not built by man, but excavated from the rocks; immense temples not erected by human hands, but hewn inch by inch within a mountain of granite, in the most exact proportion. He treads the whole in silence, and meets no other inhabitant than birds, bats, and bees; unless, perchance, (as has sometimes happened), he spies a tiger. . . . From the summit of the highest mountain he enjoys the extensive prospect of sea and land . . . and finds himself lost in contemplative wonder at the inadequateness of sublunary operations, and the vanity of all human structures; since, in this astonishing scene, not even the name of the founder, nor the intent of his undertaking, is known to a single individual now existing! (Forbes [1813] 1834, 2: 384)

British surrender to the obscurity of India's ruins sustained the classical sublime trajectory, as the final phase of "losing" oneself developed into the counterfeit identification with the sublime object, and the corresponding emulation of epic heroes and ancient predecessors. For William Hodges, British additions to the India landscape were constantly reminiscent of classical antiquity. The porticoes of Fort St. George improbably reminded him of ancient Greece, as did much of the British architecture; "indeed every house may be considered as a temple dedicated to hospitality" (Hodges 1793: 15-16). James Forbes more plainly dreamt of sharing India's glory:

> The antiquity of the Hindoos involves such a variety of matter, and embraces so many objects, that it is a very difficult field to enter; and yet who could travel over the plains of Cambay without recollecting they had employed the pens of Arrian and Ptolemy many ages past? And, if not already proved, it will most probably soon be discovered, that there has been a very ancient communication between Hindostan and Great Britain. Should it be ascertained that the latter is one of the Sacred Isles of the West, in the Hindoo puranas, it is impossible to calculate the result of such researches (Forbes [1813] 1834, 2: 165).

Delight in the face of Indian ruins sometimes was overlaid with hints of possessiveness. Descending from an afternoon of extended daydreaming at Mandore, Tod ceremoniously carved his name on the most spectacular monument (Tod [1829-32] 1971, 1: 575). And while complimenting the beauty and skill evident in Indian Cyclopean walls, his statement that "[w]e might indeed smuggle a section of Mundore . . . amongst those of Todi or

Volterra, without fear of detection" ([1829-32] 1971, 1: 572) conveys more acquisitiveness than Tod probably intended.

The most pernicious aspect of sublime identification, however, was the disengagement of contemporary Indians from the past magnificence evident in the landscape. This sometimes took the form of puzzlement over differences in clothing and physical appearance observed between sculptures and contemporary inhabitants: "[Elephanta] must have been the work of some set of men long since extinct in India . . . supposing them of Gentoo origin, the veil of obscurity should instantly drop, since it can hardly be imagined that so total a change in dress and feature should take place among any set of men, or that those who, from time immemorial, have inhabited India, should now not only be ignorant of the institutions of their forefathers, but altogether strangers to the origin of works so vast in the undertaking" (Macneil 1787: 280).

The dissociation was more thoroughly accomplished, however, by the overall identification of Indian ruins as "natural" aspects of the landscape rather than artifacts. As in Britain and Europe, Indian ruins were locales of ambiguity wherein the blending of nature and art created the most delightful aspects of the sublime. Indian ruins were well suited for such obscurity; nature was extravagant and intrusive, with decaying buildings being devoured by vegetation while their vicinities were stalked by wild animals. The ruin itself

often harbored a living representative of the natural world. Many of Forbes's ventures into ruined buildings provoked confrontations with "guardian genii" serpents, against which he routinely employed snake charmers (Forbes [1813] 1834, 2: 538). In a lengthy account he detailed several stories heard and personal experiences of "sentinel" cobras charged with guarding treasures, and mistakenly left unreleased from duty after the owners decamped and the buildings crumbled (Forbes [1813] 1834, 2: 18-23). In contrast to these robust genii snakes, a ruin-observer might encounter instead a feeble Indian human:

> Having walked out on the terrace or house-top of the palace [at Mandore], to catch a sun-beam and scare away an ague which tormented me, I discovered one of these animals [a "troglodyte philosopher"] coiled up on a heap of bat's-dung in a corner of an apartment of the palace. He was dreadfully emaciated, and but for the rolling of a pair of eyes in a visage covered with hair, there was nothing which betokened animation, much less humanity. There was none but the bat to dispute his reign or 'the spider which weaves its web in this palace of the Caesars.' I had no inclination to disturb the process of ratiocination, or to ask to which sect of philosophers belonged this Diogenes of Mundore, who might, if he had utterance, have desired me to walk down stairs, and not intercept the sun-beam for whose warmth we were competitors (Tod [1829-32] 1971, 1: 575).

Visitors to British ruins of the time could also expect to encounter human beings living among the wrecked buildings but, wretched as the residents were, they were clearly identified as human. (Ousby 1990: 120-121, 133-137). The habit of describing ruin residents, as at Tintern Abbey, was

modified for the Indian situation, where the opposing values of the tourist and the resident were more sharply defined. In a countryside "filled with swarms of people," the sudden appearance of a solitary, debilitated human being or guardian animal as a constituent piece of a ruin complex, became a conventional rhetorical element in narrating experiences of ruins.

The relegation of Indian ruins to the realm of nature was complete with the absorption of ruins into a uniquely Indian phenomenon, the "see-kote" witnessed by James Tod. During his epic charting of Rajasthan, Tod and his party stopped in the valley of Udaipur, "the most romantic spot on the continent of India." In spite of its charms, or because of them, during a stay of two years this "happy valley" had palled. "In all this time, none of us had penetrated beyond the rocky barrier which formed the limit of our horizon. . . . Each hill and dale, tower and tree, had become familiar to us; every altar, cenotaph and shrine had furnished its legend, till tradition was exhausted. The ruins were explored, their inscriptions deciphered, each fantastic pinnacle had a name. . . . ennui intrude[d], and all panted to escape" Familiarity and knowledge had bred restiveness and boredom, if not contempt, and new horizons beckoned. "[T]he scenery had become hideous. . . . and although the change was to be from all that constitutes the enchantments of vision, from wood and water, dale and mountain, verdure and foliage, to the

sterile plains of the sandy desert of Marwar, it was sufficient that it was change" (Tod [1829-32] 1971, 1: 519-520; original emphasis).

Leaving behind the picturesque "fairy-islands in the water," Tod and his party ventured into the unknown, where he experienced one of a series of truly sublime visions:

> We had a magnificent mirage this morning: nor do I ever recollect observing this singularly grand phenomenon on a more extensive scale or with greater variety of form. . . . It is only in the cold season that the mirage is visible; the sojourners of Maroo call it the see-kote, or 'castles in the air.'* In the deep desert to the westward, the herdsmen and travellers through these regions style it chittram 'the picture;' while about the plains of the Chumbul and Jumna they term it dessasur 'the omen of the quarter.' This optical deception has been noticed from the remotest times. The prophet Isaiah alludes to it. . . . [But these] differ from that illusion called the see-kote. . . .
>
> When we witnessed this phenomenon at first, the eye was attracted by a lofty opaque wall of lurid smoke, which seemed to be bounded by, or to rise from, the very verge of the horizon. By slow degrees, the dense mass became more transparent, and assumed a reflecting or refracting power: shrubs were magnified into trees; the dwarf khyre appeared ten times larger than the gigantic amli of the forest. A ray of light suddenly broke the line of continuity of this yet smoky barrier; and, as if touched by the enchanter's wand, castles, towers, and trees, were seen in an aggregated cluster, partly obscured by magnificent foliage. Every accession of light produced a change in the chittram, which from the dense wall that it first exhibited, had now faded into a thin transparent film, broken into a thousand masses, each mass being a huge lens; until at length the too vivid power of the sun dissolved the vision: castles, towers, and foliage, melted, like the enchantment of Propsero, into 'thin air.' ([1829-32] 1971, 1: 601-602).

*Literally, 'The cold-weather castles.'

As the case with other natural occurrences experienced by the British in India, Tod's see-kotes were more grand, more extensive, more various, and more shocking than mirages anywhere else on earth. Tod, who had seen the Flying Dutchman, thought the see-kote "one of the grandest phenomena in nature" ([1829-32] 1971, 1: 603). For an event so spectacular it was surprisingly obscure and elusive. "Only an eye accustomed to the phenomenon . . . can perceive it at all. . . a friend who had been thirty years in India. . . did not observe a see-kote then before our eyes," and none of Tod's party had ever witnessed one in the British provinces ([1829-32] 1971, 1: 602-603). The first one experienced by Tod "appeared like an immense walled town with bastions. . . . [a] panoramic scene in motion" ([1829-32] 1971, 1: 602). The "most perfect specimen," of the phenomenon, however, was the floating, fragmented illusion of an ancient city viewed from the ruins of the castle of Feroz:

> Let the reader fancy himself in the midst of a desert plain, with nothing to impede the wide scope of vision, his horizon bounded by a lofty black wall encompassing him on all sides. Let him watch the first sun-beam break upon this barrier, and at once, as by a touch of magic, shiver it into a thousand fantastic forms, leaving a splintered pinnacle in one place, a tower in another, an arch in a third; these in turn undergoing more kaleidescopic changes, until the 'fairy fabric' vanishes. Here it was emphatically called . . . 'the city of Raja Hurchund,' a celebrated prince of the brazen age of India. The power of reflection shewn by this phenomenon cannot be better described, than by stating, that it brought the very ancient Aggaroa, which is thirteen miles distant,

> with its fort and bastions, close to my view. ([1829-32] 1971, 1: 602-603)

With its special affinity for ruins, the sublime see-kote evoked Burke's "images of a tower, an archangel, the sun rising through mists, . . . an eclipse, the ruin of monarchs, and the revolutions of kingdoms." It appeared only after Tod's party had ventured out of the familiar "happy valley," and was visible only to the practiced eye, and only then in uncharted native provinces. It embodied, in other words, all the elements necessary to a sublime appreciation of India, and was singularly emblematic of the ways in which relict India, blended with nature, resulted in highly prized distorted images.

**Post-Sublime India: "I have written my name here."**

The fragmentation of ruined buildings seen in Tod's mirage also presaged the eventual, relatively swift disintegration of sublime appreciation in India. The images and written accounts reaching Europe and Britain inspired others to travel and experience for themselves India's landscape, and as more areas of India came under British control the tourist retraced the steps of the explorer. Visual images of Indian ruins, especially the Daniells' prints, became extremely popular among an audience not overly concerned with specifics of the Indian landscape. In 1799, one such enthusiast commissioned Thomas Daniell to produce a painting efficiently combining into one imaginary

landscape various ruins from all parts of India.[4] In the left foreground of this fantasy, visitors disembark from an elephant at the Trichengodu temple gateway; across the way is what appears to be a western Indian stepwell in the shadow of Vishnu's quoit and Siva's trident. Beyond a reflecting pool, other buildings can be glimpsed in a rising series of hills and, in the middle distance, a small Taj Mahal nestles at the edge of a forest in the foothills. Eventually images of ruins were reproduced less for the sublimity that they originally expressed than for their purely decorative value, and well into the nineteenth century individual ruins were disembedded from their "real" locations in the Daniells' landscapes and recombined with other ruins, even with British landscape elements, for reproduction in porcelain and wallpaper (Archer 1980: 228-229; Nouvel-Kammerer 1990: 148).

Written descriptions of India's ruins were likewise "processed" by the receiving public and refashioned into new forms. Original publications of drawings, paintings, and engravings of Indian views were prohibitively expensive and available to a limited audience; when middle-class taste created a demand for travel books, the familiar drawings and engravings were reproduced in annuals, accompanied by a text improvising, and sometimes imagining, a "tour" of the sites (Archer and Lightbown 1982: 120).

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[4] Large Composition of Architecture Representing Some of the Most Celebrated Hindoo and Moorish Buildings in India (Archer 1980: 227; Tillotson 1991: 145).

If fashion made the depictions of India's ancient landscape overly familiar and therefore less evocative of Burke's "delightful horror," official attention to ruins on the part of British government and scholars further eroded their sublimity. In the course of the nineteenth century, damage to individual ruins was significant: old buildings were reoccupied or disassembled for materials; ancient forts were commandeered and turned into garrisons, palaces, mosques; temples were defaced by casual tourists. Fame accrued to those who arrested the decay of India's great monuments or who identified and catalogued antiquities as part of the great nineteenth century Surveys of India (i.e., the census, the Great Trigonometrical, Topographical, Geological, and Archaeological Surveys, among others). Ruins came to be seen less as magnificent human accomplishments of a pre-British population than as natural history -- geographical phenomena to be dismantled and reused or conserved and catalogued, with their origins less a focus than the fact of their decay.

For Nick Tarvin, the swashbuckling hero of Kipling's The Naulahka, an ancient, crumbling building entangled in vegetation was "marked as the first actual ruin he had seen. His complaint against all the others, the temples and the palaces, was that they were not ruined, but dead -- empty, swept" (Kipling and Balestier 1892: 189). Nineteenth-century and later post-sublime attitudes

towards Indian ruin sites can most significantly be appreciated in terms of the degree to which selected sites were "swept" empty and dead by the British. One hundred years after the initial, intense sublime immersion in India's decay, and after nineteenth-century familiarity eroded the obscurity of its ruins, India's ancient landscape had split into two aspects, one official and swept, the other unclaimed and decaying. The first aspect remains the most obvious, readily apparent in tourist guides and archaeological site reports. It originated when Lord Curzon answered the call of imperial responsibility and posterity and pursued the restoration of certain ruined buildings to their "original" states. By the twentieth century, these sites stood sunny and renewed, tidied up as suitable locales for this officially sanctioned epic hero and his apostle, the tourist. In Curzon's wake came Mortimer Wheeler, a "fire-breathing giant, [a] bestriding colossus" whose archaeological accomplishments in India were "almost superhuman" (Hawkes 1982: 10; 3). While selected ruins were refashioned for displaying British heroic deeds, an alternative landscape also came into being. Such "unclaimed" ruins remained mired in nature and retained the residual effects of "delightful horror." Restored ruins were officially "dead," but this alternative landscape remained populated with monsters and infused with native humanity, becoming less delightful as time went on.

Lord Curzon, the great viceroy-conservator (1899-1905) of India's antiquity, was moved to action by India's decrepitude. He "lost no time in setting matters right," ridding ancient buildings of intruders from one end of the subcontinent to the other and reconverting them to what was deemed to be their original purposes (Ramaswamy 1968: 47; Dundas 1928, 2: 338). In addition to rearranging existing antiquities, Curzon had determined to investigate, restore, and commemorate all types of evidence in India of "great or famous men," native and colonial alike, because India, "where the human cycles succeed each other so rapidly and records are so soon effaced," was particularly susceptible to forgetting any past not commemorated in three dimensions (Curzon 1925, 1: 131-132). Accordingly, he supervised the restoration of countless monuments, including memorials at the Black Hole of Calcutta and the Residency in Lucknow, topping off his career with the restoration of Fatehpur Sikri and the Taj Mahal; his restoration work would, he believed, be "the most lasting external effect of my term of office" (quoted in Dundas 1928, 2: 330-331).

Curzon did not merely identify the work necessary and delegate it to specialists. He considered the many restoration experts he employed to be "coadjutors," while he himself labored as Hercules, personally researching and overseeing many projects, and admonishing those who failed to maintain his

results (Curzon 1925, 2: 137, 1: 150; Dundas 1928, 2: 211). Even when he troubled to locate the appropriate expert, as when he revived the Archaeological Survey and imported John Marshall as its head, Curzon remained intimately involved in day-to-day tasks, issuing detailed instructions to engineers and rewriting reports (Dundas 1928, 2: 211; Gilmour 1994: 179).

Curzon's philosophy about restoration was forthright: certain of India's premier ruins -- those at Agra, Lahore, Gaur, Abu, Bhubaneswar, and similar locations -- must be carefully conserved "so as to restore nothing that had not already existed and to put up nothing absolutely new" (quoted in Das 1962: 114). Thus the meticulous care taken in his renowned restoration of the Taj Mahal, where workmen were painstakingly trained in the ancient ways of carving marble and repairing mosaics, and old plans were followed scrupulously to restore the monument and gardens to the closest possible semblance of their original states. An obstacle appeared, however, in this smooth eradication of centuries of neglect; India's human cycles had indeed succeeded each other so rapidly that records of the original Taj lamp had been effaced. This sent Curzon on an epic quest; when research in India proved futile, he mobilized experts in Egypt to formulate a model of a suitable lamp. Curzon "who had already formed in his mind a very clear idea of exactly what he wanted," was

repeatedly disappointed by research which turned up lamps contemporary with the Taj Mahal, but which failed to suit him (Keswani 1969: 12).

With the design eventually altered by him personally over many months, the lamp was created in Egypt and inscribed in Persian as a gift to the tomb from Curzon. The counterfeit identification that was the climax of a sublime experience now had become authentic, as the restoration of the Taj to an "original state," with the addition of a keepsake, effectively erased the centuries intervening between the original genius and the colonial one. "The central dome of the Taj is rising like some vast exhalation into the air," Curzon proclaimed. "If I had never done anything else in India, I have written my name here, and the letters are a living joy" (Dundas 1928, 2: 336).

Plaintively, though, Curzon's official biographer complained: "How many of those who gaze curiously at the lamp to-day pause to recall the years of patient search, the amount of pious thought and the load of personal labour which Lord Curzon devoted to its acquisition?" (Dundas 1928, 2: 336, 334). Although individual lights dimmed over the years, the central novelty of the British presence against the backdrop of India's antiquity did not entirely fade away. Even the advent of scientific archaeology, a "young, unformed subject. . . gave more opportunity for great enterprises and towering reputations," especially "in India, a land where the epic still lives and veneration is

unstinted" (Hawkes 1982: 2, 3). In the mid-twentieth century, Mortimer Wheeler tore into India, taking great pride in ignoring the weather and the counsel of more experienced travelers, upending the subcontinent in search of evidence of contacts with ancient Rome. He knew little of India and had never been there, yet immediately "devised the most economical possible strategic plan for the elucidation of India's ancient civilizations. On his arrival he had it immediately dispatched to his vast and demoralized staff scattered over the subcontinent, 'to tell them exactly what I was going to do. And every one of those things we did. . . we did.' Uttering these words before the 'Chronicle' [BBC] camera Wheeler struck a fist into an open palm, his face alight with the memory of it all. It was a moment that seemed to sum up his whole professional life" (Hawkes 1984: 5).

Not surprisingly, then, after charting the course for a new, nationalist Archaeological Survey of India, Wheeler urged British archaeologists to stop "digging in an English back-garden" and instead send "field armies" of archaeologists to explore the "vast horizons" and "wide open spaces" of Asia and Africa, "still Dark archaeologically," and could not suppress the impulse to reproduce colonial relationships:

> [A] young man who, still in his twenties, was solely responsible for (let us say) the head-hunters of a vast Asian forest-tract, had something that is lacking on the nine-fifteen. . . . He had, as an ordinary average Englishman, an opportunity of self-fulfilment,

> such as has, through the ages, peculiarly fitted and augmented our accumulative tradition. . . . you will be impatiently asking what all this has to do with Archaeology. I venture to think that it has a great deal to do with Archaeology. Today the world, politically, is closing rapidly upon the British. . . . But outside the political world there is a very great deal that we can do about this situation, and that is worth the doing. As archaeologists, we are unsurpassed in the world. . . . To our independent effort the cuneiform script surrendered, even though we admit an able foreign competitor. We tracked the minotaur to his Cretan lair. To the tale of the world's civilizations we added that of the Indus Valley. Elsewhere, again and again we have been inter primos, notably in the land of the Tigris and Euphrates, and again in that of the Hittites (Wheeler 1966: 94, 120-121; original emphasis)

If Curzon and Wheeler, each styled by his admirers as the father of Indian archaeology, established this first landscape as a location for claiming, restoring, and studying antiquity, and conserving and reproducing the colonial presence in the process, what of unclaimed ruins, those which were left to molder and decay? This alternative ancient landscape, composed of Tarvin's "actual ruins," appealed to the imagination and was often disagreeable; nature was consuming these ruins, and guardian animals haunted them, as did native Indians.

Shortly before Fatehpur Sikri and Agra were "set right" by Curzon, Rudyard Kipling paid a visit to the deserted city of Chitor in Rajasthan. "One cannot 'do' Chitor with a guide-book," but Kipling's own objective was to write "an elaborate statistical, historical, geographical account" after his visit. His leisurely day of wandering the ruins, culminating with a descent into the

famous Gau-Mukh ("which is nothing more terrible than a little spring, falling into a reservoir, in the side of the hill") ended instead in instantaneous terror. Entering the spring made him "feel that he had done a great wrong in trespassing into the very heart and soul of Chitor . . . the Gau-Mukh guggled and choked like a man in his death-throe." He remembered Tod's tales of ghouls that guard the subterranean passage, the site of a mass sati, and "it seemed as though the descent had led [him] firstly, two thousand years away from his own century, and secondly, into a trap, and that he would fall off the polished stones into the stinking tank, or that the Gau-Mukh would continue to pour water placidly until the tank rose up and swamped him or that some of the stone slabs would fall forward and crush him flat." Struggling to escape, "[h]e desired no archaeological information, he wished to take no notes, and, above all, he did not care to look behind him. . . . But he had to cross the smooth worn rocks, and he felt their sliminess through his boot-soles. It was as though he were treading on the soft, oiled skin of a Hindu" (Kipling 1891: 78, 77, 80; original emphasis).

Climbing Chitor's Tower of Victory, Kipling felt "wrapp[ed] deeper and deeper in the tangle of a mighty maze. . . . [and] most abhorrent of all, the slippery sliminess of the walls worn smooth by naked men" (Kipling 1891: 75-76). The "tranquility tinged with terror" possible during the time of "free-

floating" orientalism had been long eclipsed by the very real anxieties fixed by colonialism, and the horror created by the Gau Mukh and the Tower was anything but agreeable. Unlike restored ruins, made to seem as if they materialized fully formed by invisible workers, the ruins in this alternative landscape retained palpable reminders of their origins and service. When tempted to a kind of sublime self-congratulation, Kipling was brought up sharply:

> The Englishman wandered so far in one palace that he came to an almost black-dark room, high up in a wall, and said proudly to himself: --"I must be the first man who has been here;" meaning thereby no harm or insult to any one. But he tripped and fell, and as he put out his hands, he felt that the stairs had been worn hollow and smooth by the tread of innumerable naked feet. Then he was afraid, and came away very quickly, stepping delicately over fallen friezes and bits of sculptured men, so as not to offend the dead (Kipling 1891: 74-75)

Unreconstructed Indian ruins in the alternative landscape were often occupied by suddenly appearing "guardian" animals or lone human inhabitants. Such images proved remarkably durable, appearing in encounters set in ruins well into the twentieth century. When Kipling refashioned his visit to the Gau-Mukh for his novel The Naulahka, he added a malevolent alligator (Kipling and Balestier 1892: 194-195). And as with Tod at Mandore seventy years earlier Kipling, irresistibly drawn back to Chitor in the dead of night, had

his meditations interrupted by the sudden emergence of a human from the seemingly deserted ruin:

> It was easy enough to fill the rock with people of old times, and a very beautiful account of Chitor restored, made out by the help of Tod, and bristling with the names of the illustrious dead, would undoubtedly have been written, had not a woman, a living breathing woman, stolen out of a temple -- What was she doing in that galley? -- and screamed in piercing and public-spirited fashion (Kipling 1891: 80-81).

Another seventy years further along, Naipaul's visit to Vijayanagar repeated the theme; the encounter this time was freighted with post-colonial unease. After traveling through a monotonous landscape of "ruin on ruin," Naipaul took shelter in the ruins of Vijayanagar during a rain storm, accompanied by a lone, emaciated man:

> The surrounding villages are broken down and dusty; the physique of the people is poor. Then, abruptly, grandeur: the road from Kampli goes straight through some of the old buildings and leads to the main street, very wide, very long, still impressive. . . . The square -pillared lower storeys of the stone buildings still stand. . . . And, inside, the inheritors of this greatness: men and women and children, thin as crickets, like lizards among the stones.
>
> . . . We took shelter [from the rain] . . . in the recesses of an unfinished gateway of rough-hewn stone. A very thin man followed us there. He was wrapped in a thin white cotton sheet, dappled with wet. He let the sheet fall off his chest to show us that he was all skin and bones, and he made the gestures of eating. I paid no attention. He looked away. He coughed; it was the cough of a sick man. His staff slipped from his hand and fell with a clatter on the stone floor down which water was now streaming. He hoisted himself on to a stone platform and let his staff lie where it had fallen. He withdrew into the angle of a

> platform and wall and was unwilling to make any motion, to do anything that might draw attention to himself. The dark gateway framed light: rain was grey over the pagoda-ed city of stone. . . . When the rain was over the man climbed down, picked up his wet staff, wrapped his sheet about him and made as if to go. I had converted fear and distaste into anger and contempt; it plagued me like a wound. I went to him and gave him some money. How easy it was to feel power in India! (1964: 203-205).

If Curzon's restoration projects anticipated the twentieth century tourist, the alternative "actual" ruins of ancient India continue to be coupled with its monsters of nature and resuscitated as locales of anxiety, dread, and terror, at least in the modern imagination of Britain and America. In order to heighten Adela's horror in the Marabar Caves, David Lean's 1984 film version of A Passage to India imbued Forster's story with the decay of ancient India, through the invention of a scene set in a ruin: After her decision not to marry Ronnie, Adela, on a bicycle in the outskirts of Chandrapore, happens upon a path bordered by tumbled stones and broken statuary. Following it, she is swallowed by a field of tall grass and tilting stelae. She sees a temple a short distance away, nearly consumed by vegetation; there, she ducks under vines and examines various erotic sculptures, under the vigil of enormous, crumbling stone faces. She soon realizes the temple is infested with monkeys, who begin shrieking and threatening attack. Adela flees the temple, the monkeys in close pursuit; the final frame is a huge stone face gazing after her. Adela's close brush with the terror of India, visually summarized in the imagery of decaying

antiquity and marauding wild animals, follows the conventions of British ruin reverie in India: the surprise of discovery, followed by direct examination, interrupted in turn by loathsome guardian animals, then flight.

It is no longer fashionable to seek to be terrified in contemporary India; it might be argued, however, that "agreeable horror" still attaches to ancient India. In the Adventureland precinct of Disneyland, the elements of sublime and picturesque experiences of ancient India are mustered to create a late twentieth century perversion of sublime terror. The Indiana Jones Adventure ride, recently opened at a cost of $90 million, situates visitors in the Temple of the Forbidden Eye "hidden in the jungles of India," where the archaeologist has undertaken an excavation. As they enter the temple, visitors are warned not to look into the eyes of the deity; but the ride is constructed to make this impossible, thus triggering the adventure: "The temple exacts its punishment . . . by turning [the] escape route into a hellish maze that leads through lava pits and vermin-infested rooms, over temperamental bridges and into dark rooms filled with mummies, skeletons, bugs and poison darts. . . . speeding . . . through dark, rat plagued corridors." After being "treated to literally thousands of scary images," a giant boulder threatens to crush the visitors, who are saved in the nick of time. Instead of fleeing for their lives as Kipling and Adela might have, the faux adventurers move easily out of the semblance of

"actual" ruins back into Disney's evocation of Curzon's orderly landscape -- instead of being deposited at the promised excavation, they end up in the gift shop (Dretzka 1995: 1, 14).

## Chapter 3

# ANTIQUITY IN MINIATURE:
# THE IMAGINATIVE GEOGRAPHY OF THE INDIAN VILLAGE

1962 was a difficult year for V.S. Naipaul. Traveling in India for the first time, generations after his ancestors had emigrated to Trinidad, he felt adrift, awash in "almost insupportable" distress (1976: ix). "In India I had so far felt myself a visitor. Its size, its temperatures, its crowds: I had prepared myself for these, but in its very extremes the country was alien. Looking for the familiar, I had again, in spite of myself, become an islander: I was looking for the small and manageable" (Naipaul 1964: 140). From the bewildering Indian landscape at the end of this overwhelming year, the small and manageable finally emerged: for one brief day in the village of his ancestors, Naipaul ceased to be a visitor. That day, Indians appeared handsome and familiar, this village attractive and prosperous, and he listened raptly as long family histories were recounted. Objects and photographs in the village connected this place to his Trinidadian home and awakened long-sleeping memories, casting their spell even away from the village; other objects and

music in the town bazaar continued the "sense of dissolving time, that alarming but exhilarating sense of wonder at my physical self" (Naipaul 1964: 258).

A return visit to the village went badly, as relatives proved too needy and pressed too close. The detail of their lives scuttled Naipaul's growing sense of happy connection, creating instead a cycle of petitions and murky obligations. "Release would come only when I left," and so he did, quickly (Naipaul 1964: 262). Yet the exaltation of belonging, if fleeting, had been real. Even someone as rooted in homelessness as Naipaul had felt the pull of an Indian village home, especially beguiling when kept at a distance.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, chaos and danger made the landscape of ruins sublime; the rest of the rural landscape evoked different sensations. In the uneventful space between ruins, villages appeared with reassuring regularity, creating an impression of a "wonderful general uniformity throughout India" (Metcalfe 1833: 466). In striking contradiction to sites of ruin and decay, villages continue to be represented as immutable biotic underpinnings of a complex Indian organism -- the "cells in the vast body of Indic Civilization," India's "blood vessels," or its "skeleton" (Wolpert 1991: 142; Gandhi 1966: 10, 41). The existential contribution of villages is heightened by their impressive numbers and seeming tenacity, which recently

enabled one archaeologist to account for "everything" across time and space: "The theme of this book is, therefore, that underlying everything in India is a village continuity. This is as true for the ancient period as it is for the present. It is the cultural backdrop against which every event occurs, simply because the villages have always vastly outnumbered the towns and cities" (Knox 1982: 13).

As the home of his ancestors, Naipaul's village had the power to distort his sense of time. Connection to a particular village, though, is not required to perceive that village reality constitutes a distinctive mental and physical universe where historic time seems to have no meaning. "Here was an intimate world of narrow horizons, rotating on its own axis; year to year, generation to generation, its substance was changeless, repetitive. Beyond it, in the wider world, there went on the ceaseless making of history" (Tagore [1933] 1961: 23). Novelists and poets are not alone in their sensitivity to this time distortion; historians find it noxious: the village, "where only the rotation of the seasons had a meaning, not the succession of the years, destroyed Indian history" (Kosambi 1954: 200). And in India of the coffee-table book, one anthropologist finds that time in a village "seems to have a layered quality, with history, the present, and the futures overlapping. . . . Standing on a boulder next to this ancient temple, we look down on the village and the plain.

. . . The village is in harmony with its environment; people's lives are active and their traditions meaningful, and they seem content, even happy. As we stand on this rock, viewing the temples, the river, the village, and the farms, we are overwhelmed by a sense of timelessness" (Huyler 1985: 37, 29).

The undifferentiated and timeless space conjured by some of these more extravagant paeans to the "eternal" Indian rural landscape appears to contain villages which never are founded, die out, or relocate, and where even less notice is taken of generations of villagers who have been born, died, and repeatedly moved. Similarly, the long-lived representation of the individual village as a self-sufficient isolate distorted the realities of individual Indian communities. The self-sufficient community has been consigned to "quaint historical fiction," "[m]ore myth than history"; it has now been reduced to a mere illusion "beloved by Indian dreamers and schemers" (Ludden 1985: 7; Fox 1989: 57; Tinker 1962: 181). As twentieth-century thinkers have moved beyond these simple depictions of the Indian village community, they have come to recognize the existence of complex networks of villages, towns, and cities, and the considerable variation within and among India's various regions. From this perspective, each village is a product "of conscious, meaningful social activity," not an isolated "anonymous data point" (Ludden 1985: 12).

Why, then, do these complex networks keep fading and the isolated figment keep reappearing?

## An Indian Village in Mayfair

In 1982 an Indian village was constructed at the Museum of Mankind in London. Part of the Festival of India, Vasna: Village Life in Gujarat displayed in exacting detail the physical setting of a contemporary village located on the Sabermati River. A great deal of effort was expended to convey to Londoners the ordinary, material reality of Vasna life. Copies of the village's potters' and weavers' quarters were constructed and outfitted with everyday objects used by Vasnans, such as cigarette packets, newspapers, cooking equipment, and children's toys (Vatsyayan 1982: 211-213). Photographic murals of Vasna streets filled in the spaces between the buildings so that visitors could get a sense of what it would be like to be in the actual village thirty kilometers outside of Ahmedabad. The indefatigable curators even arranged for cow-dung to be burned behind the exhibit so that the Vasna kitchen hearth would have authentic smoke in it. "The idea of museum staff going to such lengths in the interests of realism captured the imagination (or aroused the disbelief) of those who came to hear of it!" exclaimed one review (Museum 1982a: 203).

The Festival of India in London was an important cultural event of 1982, fashioned as a wide-ranging, coherent exposition of Indian time and space. Much was made of the collaborative nature of this Festival, where British and Indian museologists coordinated efforts to present India "in its own terms" (Vatsyayan 1982: 204). Vasna and its sister exhibit, From Village to City in Ancient India mounted at the British Museum, helped form the core of the Festival, depicting the history of settled life in India. With the imprimatur of the governments of India and Britain, and augmented by a scholarly symposium (The Cultural Heritage of the Indian Village, Durrans and Blurton 1991), these exhibits constituted something of a definitive statement of British and Indian views of village settlement patterns of the present and past. This special emphasis on the history of the settlement of the Indian subcontinent would be absent in another Festival of India a few years later, in the United States. Clearly the issues of space and time were particularly significant in the assertion of Indian identity in Britain.

Unfamiliar with India, the British curator of Vasna initially had approached this project with an image of "an absolute abstract unified Indian village." Upon visiting India and working with an Indian colleague, however, he came to see that "there could be no such thing as a 'model' Indian village," and their Anglo-Indian collaboration sought to portray rural Indian life firmly

grounded in the context of a specific geographic location (Vatsyayan 1982: 211-212). A volume accompanying the exhibit provided some remaining details about Gujarati life as lived in Vasna: the village boundaries and crops grown at various times of the year, the caste make-up and religious practices of the households, the food and clothing of the villagers (Durrans 1982). All in all, it was "a superb recreation of an Indian village" (Museum 1982b: 215).

The village exhibit was designed so that museum-goers entered "with approximately the same preconceptions as if it were a real village," with only minimal descriptive information of what they were about to see. "This provided relatively unmediated access to the very atmosphere of village life, which is so often lost when its general dimensions are reduced to sets of artefacts displayed on a shelf, or in a case" (Durrans 1984: 60). As visitors strolled the streets of Vasna, they might well have wondered where exactly they were. If they glanced at the map at the end of the exhibition, they realized that they had just seen pieces of a village south of Ahmedabad. If they read the text below the map, however, they discovered that despite the museum reproduction of it, no such village existed in India, and that Vasna was wholly a creation of the Museum of Mankind and the Festival of India. In that "joint exploration of Indian reality" (Vatsyayan 1982: 204), it was decided to convey rural Indian reality by selecting "about a dozen" villages in

Gujarat, dismantling and recombining various components of them into one fictitious village. Perpetuating the fiction, the composite village was given a name, and a map marked its location with one dot instead of twelve (Durrans 1982: 54). "Any one of these villages differs from Vasna only in minor detail," the exhibit volume explains. "Vasna therefore could exist and will be assumed to exist in the following account. . . . Nothing reported is invention . . . [Vasna] is a composite of details true of one village or another" (Durrans 1982: 57).

What was the harm? Vasna the exhibit was recognizably Gujarati and contained objects found, apparently, in one Gujarati village or another. The curators felt keenly that ordinary Indian objects would be overlooked in the Festival's emphasis on performance, spectacle, and sophisticated artifacts and successfully demonstrated that everyday material culture in Gujarat includes beautiful objects (Vatsyayan 1982: 213). They furthermore displayed extraordinary sensitivity in acquiring the objects, discussing the display, and debating Vasna's authenticity (Durrans 1984; Shah 1984). Had they only created a "plausible" village environment for the display of domestic material culture (Durrans 1988: 159), the unreality of the buildings and streets would not seem quite so jarring. Museums speak with authority and confer authenticity when they create contexts for objects (Crew and Sims 1991: 163;

Stocking 1985: 5); the verisimilitude created by its location, name, and history enabled the museum village to represent reality in an illusive way that any one "real" village never would.

In the Festival, portraying an entire village in a limited museum space went beyond contracting actual physical dimensions; in Vasna, real-world space completely collapsed, unremarked. Although the authority of a map proclaimed its location, the village had no real place in space, and the relationships that created twelve villages were obliterated, as was the present-day meaning of each village having eleven similar neighbors. Time was as irrelevant as space; since Vasna never existed, it had no prehistory or history. Regardless of whether the twelve villages contained any actual archaeological remains, Vasna could have only a generic story. Applicable to a vast region, it began with "the Harappan legacy," jumped to the fifteenth century, then to seventeenth century Dutch and British trade, continuing on through the present (Durrans 1982: 88-93). It was purposely imagined in a middle distance from Ahmedabad, neither so remote that it was untouched nor so close that it was overwhelmed by urban India (Durrans 1984: 61). In seeking to typify village locations and pasts, the exhibit aspired to a bizarre realism: although Vasna did not exist in space or time, there were supposed to be thousands of villages just like it.

## The Mythic Reality of the Ancient Village

The carefully broad theme of the Festival of India was "continuity and change." In consonance with long-standing assumptions in Indian scholarship that locate "traditional" India in its villages, and "modern" India in its cities (Cohn 1987b: 188), the Festival's theme meant that in the history of the Indian landscape "continuity" was rural, and "change" was urban. The symposium held in conjunction with the two settlement exhibits noted that "the village . . . could never have autonomously developed into a town," that towns and cities came about when merchants and rulers purposefully imposed them on the rural landscape (Pramar 1991: 92). The British Museum archaeology exhibit painted the same motif on a broader canvas: "Throughout the events of the past 10,000 years the Indian village has endured as the soul of life in the subcontinent. Invaders have come and gone, empires have risen and fallen, periods of city life have flourished and sunk into decline, but the villages have remained" (Knox 1982: 13). In essence, the Indian rural landscape was ancient and stable, the stage for, but not the scene of, events.

It could be expected that an Anglo-Indian Festival would characterize the Indian rural landscape as a slow accretion of independent villages which "endure," where what was true in the ancient past is true today. India has been so formulated as a nation of villages that an awareness of an unchanging

“village community” as the primary social unit of rural life powerfully affected Anglo-Indian historical and political thought throughout much of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Dumont 1966, Dewey 1972, Inden 1990). The reduction of regional variations in village life to an archetypal self-sufficient, inward-looking village community, and an assumption of the great antiquity of this way of life, resulted in colonial and nationalist views of the Indian village as “the living essence of the ancient” (Inden 1990: 131). A corollary result of the spatial and temporal assumptions made about Indian villages is the extent to which they have informed perceptions of ancient rural communities. Specifically, it will be argued that the ancient village has been the “mythical” point of origin for significant political and historical narratives of the Indian village community. The word “myth” appears frequently in critical studies of the contemporary Indian village community. Especially in the mid-twentieth century, the word is applied to seeming misconceptions about villages, to invalidate aspects long believed true of Indian villages (usually that they were self-sufficient republics) by dismissing them as mythical -- “myth and reality” being a popular juxtaposition. Of interest here, however, is less determinations of false (mythical) and true (historical) knowledge of village realities, but rather what Dumont suggests -- that early British administrators described Indian colonial villages in such remarkably similar

ways in different times and places that it is as if they "had been engendered by the same mind" (1966: 70). In very precise, highly stylized language, early accounts of colonial territories repeatedly described a landscape of certain proportions and populations; the phrase most identified with Indian villages -- "self-sufficient village republics" -- began its long life here. Dumont shows that the village descriptions closely repeated one another, reiterating through time virtually identical descriptions of village life; by tracing the authorship backwards and enumerating the repetitions forward, he concludes that the accounts themselves constitute "something like a myth" (1966: 68).

Since a major supposition of these nineteenth-century British accounts was the great antiquity of rural Indian communal life, their wide dissemination established the village community both as a contemporary way of life and also as a living remnant of antiquity. In this process of supposing observed customs to be immemorial ones, British administrators in these early accounts called into being a mythical landscape, what Said calls an "imaginative geography" --a "quasi-fictional" place existing in the vague "long ago" (1978: 55). Powerful and entangling, such a geography is nearly impossible to escape or ignore; almost any nineteenth- or twentieth-century account of village life in India remarks on it either by making use of its imagery or, more lately, setting out to question it. Even in the course of his own analysis, Dumont subscribes to the

view of the relative self-sufficiency of the Indian village (Dumont 1966: 74; Srinivas 1975: 43).

In the framework of such an imaginative geography, the origin-mythic character of these early administrative narratives becomes apparent, and Dumont's suggestion that these accounts constitute "something like a myth" takes on a special meaning with regard to beliefs about village communities of ancient India. Reporting on practices observed in particular villages or regions, the accounts situated the origins of rural Indian life in a time and space of the past that was mythic -- fluid and unspecific. The "story" began unimaginably long ago, almost any time between the Neolithic and the present, often "since the days of Manu," more usually "since time immemorial." The place was in no way precise or specific, commonly "the village," or "India's villages." Although various reports submitted from 1799 through the 1830s differed significantly in their assessment of property relations, they were in striking agreement in their depiction of the village as a natural community (Dewey 1972: 296). Mythic status is confirmed by the innumerable retellings of this description over the years in authoritative venues -- Parliamentary Minutes, gazetteers, major historical works (Mill, Elphinstone, many subsequent texts); Dumont could have predicted that the Festival of India would have employed

two-hundred-year-old imagery.[1] The several long cycles of interest in the history and future of the village community have continually sought validation in this image of an ancient rural community untouched by the events of an outside world. The assumed antiquity of the Indian village, as first formulated in early administrative accounts, has proved to be its most authoritative and "mythic" feature.

The imaginative geography of the Indian village community, including its myth-like ancient aspect, continues to be of service in the modern dilemma of securing a place for any peasantry in a rapidly urbanizing world. Many of the contested issues regarding Indian villages in the last hundred years are now coming under debate in other parts of Asia (Rigg 1994) and definitions of "modernity" still involve relatively unexamined assumptions about "antiquity." The contemporary relevance of villages to those who do not live in them is as yet undetermined, and understandings of "change" continue to be formulated from the perspective of the modern urbanite whose own memory reaches as far

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[1]Dumont focuses his attention on restated depictions of the village community. In a similar fashion, one particular image repeatedly conjures the physical landscape of ancient India and its imperviousness to the sweep of history. The Festival's version, "Invaders have come and gone, empires have risen and fallen, periods of city life have flourished and sunk into decline, but the villages remain" (Knox 1982: 13) is only a recent reverberation of the best known of the early versions: "Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down; revolution succeeds to revolution; Hindoo, Patan, Mogul, Mahratta, Sik, English, are all masters in turn, but the village communities remain the same" (Metcalfe 1833: 470).

back as the World Wars.[2] To some, villages represent a rural way of life that is the source of "all our behavior, arts, institutions and beliefs," and therefore must be protected from disintegrating forces of modern life; others wonder why "[a] way of life that may have existed only for lack of alternatives is extolled as a virtue. . . . [why] what might only have been the necessities or oppressions of one era come to be interpreted as traditional values during the next" (Critchfield 1994: 459; Popkin, quoted in Rigg 1994: 124). As for the Indian village community itself, deeply held convictions about its antiquity have come under only tentative scrutiny. By the mid-twentieth century, when scholars would ask "is the village indeed the social fact which it has for so long been assumed to be?" and dismissed the idea of the contemporary village as a "primitive isolate," they were only "skeptical" about the relative isolation and self-sufficiency of villages in the past (Dumont and Pocock 1957: 23; Singer 1972: 258).

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[2]The late journalist Richard Critchfield, who wrote extensively about village life (particularly Indian) for The Economist and in several best-selling books, was an influential proponent of this idea that the only significant disruptions to rural life have been modern pressures: "Agriculture imposes its own rules of conduct upon people who live close to the soil and whose way of life, until very recent years, had hardly changed at all, one generation to the next, for thousands of years. . . . Going to the Punjab the first time in 1959. . . [e]ven at that late date, in Punjab and, I think, much of the village world, life's problems were so similar and so often repeated, the age-old inherited solutions fit. . . . The annual rebirth of life and the mystery of growth bear witness to a deep permanence in the natural order of things. . . . so little changed from the day agriculture was invented ten, twelve thousand years ago until just the last twenty-five or thirty years, [and] gave our unstable human society much of what stability it had" (1994: 469-471).

Three phases in which the ancient village community has been recognized and reformulated will be considered here: (a) the construction of an imaginative geography in administrative accounts of the first half of the nineteenth century; (b) the elaboration of the geography as the image of a previous evolutionary stage, a "lost world," for an industrializing West; (c) and its further evolution as the symbol of a subverted destiny for Indian nationalists and cooperation experts who, infusing the narrative with a deep sense of loss, hoped to "reawaken" villages as Edenic utopias of cooperation and self-sufficiency . The byproduct of these phases has been an extraordinarily durable depiction of ancient Indian rural life.

Launched in the early seventeenth century, the East India Company's economic venture into India had as its mission how most efficiently, meaning peacefully and cheaply, to extract revenue from India. Quickly expanding from a few entrepots, by 1680 the Company was governing large tracts of land under the three Presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. Regularly under attack in Britain for greedy excesses and irresponsible government of its territories, the Company underwent various cycles of reform, particularly in 1793 when it was first brought under state control. The Company experienced, under Clive and Hastings, attempts at governing through the native system of administration, and, under Cornwallis in Bengal, the

imposition of British-style judicial and property system. In 1793, continued criticism of the Company generated new questions centering on fairness and adequate protection from exploitation for the native cultivators. The Company resolutely returned to an earlier interest in investigating, preserving, and exploiting "immemorial" native customs (Beaglehole 1966: 2-4; Stein 1989: 2-3).

The "ancestral" customs of agricultural communities in India thus came under close scrutiny in the early nineteenth century when district revenue collectors described in detail various native practices regarding land ownership, cultivation, and revenue. Intending not to repeat what were termed the "cruelties and arbitrary exactions of the Mahomedan governments" (Firminger 1918: 150), inquiries focused on the "ancient" and indigenous customs that seemed the essence of the Indian village, i.e., the ways in which it was more than merely the sum of its cultivators. The revenue collection debate came to turn on whether revenue was most appropriately settled with individual cultivators or with individual villages through a landlord or headman. Questions of who owned the land, who merely rented the land, and whom should be assessed were of enormous interest and precipitated a variety of revenue schemes for different areas of India.

The stylized "mythic" accounts recognized by Dumont were field descriptions submitted by revenue officials during this period. Many of these were collected in the Fifth Report on the Affairs of the East India Company to Parliament, issued in 1812 before the renewal of the Company's charter. Reporting from different areas and proposing a variety of revenue schemes, the accounts address the same themes: eyewitness descriptions of cultivation practices, speculations about land ownership and assessment practices of the far distant past, and assumptions of uniformity throughout India.

Lionel Place, the collector in the Chingleput Jaghire near Madras, gives perhaps the earliest (1799) written description of the village as an isolated corporate entity. Rooted in an "attachment to ancient habits and institutions. . . . every village considers itself a distinct society....each [inhabitant] having, in some way or other, the assistance of the rest; the labours of all yield the rent; they enjoy the profit proportionate to their original interest, and the loss falls light." Place observed a system of land owners and tenant farmers and noted many similarities to European feudal tenures. Any attempt at fixing cultivators to land for the purposes of assessment threatened to wreak havoc with current practices; better, he thought, to collect revenue by means of the mirasidar or hereditary property owner (Firminger 1918: 151, 167). The next known elaboration of the imaginative geography is traced by Dumont to a report in

1806 by Thomas Munro, the dominant figure in the early nineteenth century revenue settlement debate. Although Munro was the foremost advocate of ryotwari, the direct assessment of peasant farmers (the ryots), he also originated the description of the village as an republic, existing "from the age of Menu until this day," and India as "a mass of such republics" (1806, quoted in Dumont 1966: 71). In the debate of the proposed ryotwari system, his is the description repeated by supporters and detractors alike; Dumont traces many subsequent versions of Munro's description, and others are evident in many sections of the Fifth Report. The significant factors for the formation of the imaginative geography are that great antiquity was claimed for both the ryotwari and village lease systems (Mukherjee 1962: 72-73), and that both systems, although mutually exclusive, built their cases upon observations of independent village republics.

The most famous restatement of Munro's description was also the most comprehensive, as it encompassed all of the various contradictions implied by the ryotwari and village lease systems. Charles Metcalfe, writing in 1830, established definitively that while the management of cultivation by the ostensible landowner might vary from region to region, the basic claim of the government both to the land and to a share in the gross produce, and the rights of the ryots to cultivate the land, were fixed. It might seem, then, that

ryotwari would have least disrupted the customary property and social relations of rural India, but this would be misguided:

> I admire the structure of the village communities, and am apprehensive that direct engagements for revenue with each separate landholder or cultivator in a village might tend to destroy its constitution.
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> The village communities are little republics, having nearly everything that they want within themselves, and almost independent of any foreign relations. They seem to last where nothing else lasts. . . . In times of trouble they arm and fortify themselves: a hostile army passes through the country: the village communities collect their cattle within their walls, and let the enemy pass unprovoked. If plunder and devastation be directed against themselves. . . they flee . . . [and later] return and resume their occupations. . . . A generation may pass away, but the succeeding generation will return. . . .
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> This union of the village communities, each one forming a separate little state in itself, has . . . contributed more than any other cause to the preservation of the people of India, through all the revolutions and changes which they have suffered, and is in a high degree conducive to their happiness, and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence" (Metcalfe 1833: 466, 470).

Three features in particular emerge from these administrative reports to establish an imaginative rural geography:

1. The rural population was a peasantry, isomorphic with "self-sufficient" villages characterized as "communities" and more specifically designated "republics." Self-sufficiency resulted from common interest in the cultivation of the land available to the village, and further from the aggregate effect of complementary trades practiced by the villagers.

2. Village communities had stable, unaltering boundaries, and the physical space occupied by a community had a significance beyond the fact of its settlement. The affinity

of villagers for their land was so elemental that it created a sort of homing instinct, causing them to return to the village's location in the wake of any disaster.

3. The only significant connections a village had with the outside world was with central powers, usually a revenue-collecting central government or an exploiting city. Villages had no systematic interactions with one another.

## A Lost World

By the mid-nineteenth century, the main features of the Indian village community were in place, its antiquity and essential characteristics established through official administrative reports. In the second half of the century, its western analogues long gone, the Indian village community took on significance as living history, symbolizing a "lost world" for western thinkers who were drawn to it "by its antiquity, its omnipresence, the solution it afforded for the problem of social order" (Dewey 1972: 292, 294). The appeal was complicated, however, by various readings of the village community, rooted in the ryotwari - village-lease debate of the earlier period, and the implications of the two systems for the evolution of individual and communal property remained the focus until the end of the century. Identified respectively with conservative and utilitarian proponents, the two revenue systems produced identical pictures of the village community; the community itself was not in dispute, only the relative desirability of the agreed-upon set of

characteristics (Dewey 1972: 296). The wide-ranging discussions of these characteristics and their role in the nineteenth century in theories of the development of western society and systems of property and law have been dealt with elsewhere (Inden 1990, Dewey 1972, Srinivas 1975). Relevant here is that in the course of these inquiries into the significance of the village community, the imaginative geography established by colonial administrators was now restated and elaborated. Its ancientness and isolation were heightened, and its physical description more codified.

In a series of lectures in 1883, collectively titled "What Can India Teach Us?", the philologist Max Müller gave the answer: "we know now that we are something different from what we thought we were." Speaking to prospective Indian Civil Servants, Müller explained that as long as one took care to look in the Indian countryside instead of the cities, the India of three thousand years past would appear, ripe for study (1883: 38, 15, 21). According to Müller Indian village communities were, and continued to be, perfect in themselves. Although Manu made reference to groups of villages, this referred strictly to fiscal arrangements; the world of the average Hindu stopped at the boundaries of his village (1883: 56). The world beyond the village was ominous. "Take a man out of his village-community, and you remove him from all the restraints of society. . . . Even between village and village the usual restraints of public

morality are not always recognized" (1883: 58). The threat of urban areas loomed large. Cities contained "the most unfavorable specimens of the Indian population," and presumably taught Müller nothing -- rural India was "the true India" (1883: 67, 15).

The Indian landscape for Henry Maine looked similar, "full of fragments of ancient society" where "the distinction between the Present and the Past disappears. Sometimes the Past is the Present" ([1871] 1907: 13, 7). In the past-present, the village community was "self-acting [comprising] a nearly complete establishment of occupations and trades for enabling them to continue. . . without assistance from any person or body external to them" ([1871] 1907: 125). The exception to this organic self-sufficiency was trade that brought goods from distant markets ([1871] 1907: 125-127). Only the exceptional village developed into a town; most important towns and cities grew out of royal camps. Moving at the whim of the monarch, these temporary centers voraciously consumed the agricultural and manufacturing wealth of a region, leaving villages barely subsisting and the landscape littered with "great deserted cities" ([1871] 1907: 119).

At the end of the century, B.H. Baden-Powell made two important additions to the constructed landscape. While maintaining the basic features of the village community, Baden-Powell placed the ryotwari village, where no

land was held in common by the villagers, and the "jointly held" village in a temporal relationship. Contemporary versions of ryotwari villages represented decay from an aboriginal, pre-Aryan time; the jointly-held village, on the other hand, represented continuation into the present of the intrusive Aryan culture (Inden 1990: 141). For the first time, the static nature of the imaginary landscape was disturbed. Although village forms were still held to be of great antiquity, the possibility of change, in the form of decay, was introduced.

From the first descriptions of actual villages by colonial administrators through the elaboration of the village community as an object of study, the physical boundaries of the village took on increasing importance as the actions of village occupants took on less. Baden-Powell's second contribution to the imaginative geography was the fulfillment of this trajectory, in his complete objectification of the village as an immutable geographical feature:

> Whatever changes may be undergone the village as a local feature remains. The village area once established, it soon acquires a local name and becomes a permanent feature in the map. Its constitution may change; it may be bought and sold; it may begin as a village of one kind and gradually turn into another kind; it may be absorbed in the estate of a great landlord, or remain as a small separate property under a body of joint-owners. If once owned by a family proud of its hereditary right, it may again return to be only an aggregate of separate landholders. But under all such changes, the village itself remains; its fields are tilled and irrigated, the money-lender sits at his shop, the menials and artisans do their work, no matter who is managing the land or its rents and revenues, or how the landed rights change their

> character or pass from one hand to another" (Baden-Powell [1907] 1978: 67).

By the end of the nineteenth century, the village community had lost much of its immediate relevance in western ideology. As empirical evidence accumulated, the village community lent itself less easily to theoretical elaboration, and real problems of the Indian economy became more apparent and urgent (Cohn 1987a: 168; Dewey 1972: 295). The ancient village community in its British mythic construction now became a central image in the formation of the modern Indian state. The imaginary landscape underwent a significant shift: until Baden-Powell introduced the idea of decay, the Indian community observed by the British in the nineteenth century was surmised to have existed unchanged from time immemorial; it now becomes apparent to Indian nationalists that this ancient way of life did change, degrading under the influence of the British occupation of the subcontinent. "The decay of the group system under British rule, and especially of the self-governing village, has caused deep injury to the Indian masses. . . . The village, which used to be an organic and vital unit, became progressively a derelict area, just a collection of mud huts and odd individuals" (Nehru 1946: 534). When "a traditional relationship with the past has been ruptured, the first instinct of society's intellectuals may be to restore it . . . by reshaping myth or by the construction of a new image of the past" (Pocock 1962: 217); Indian nationalists, aware of

just such a rupture, now look to reshape their pre-British origins. If the nineteenth century village constituted a lost world for the British, the ancient village now became a similar place for Indians. And if the British could debate the desirability of this ancient way of life, Indians could do the same. For village revivalists the ancient village was the point of origin for a utopia of reconstruction. For more "pragmatic" politicians, the ancient village represented the dystopia of poverty and ignorance from which modern India needed to escape. For both, the ancient village was a lost world; the debate hung on whether to find it again.

Some early nationalist historians made an effort at this time to alter the imaginary landscape, dotted by independent village republics, each individually tied to a centralized power, by positing political associations linking regional villages (Inden 1990: 149). Even in histories where village communities are independent republics, they act as independent agents, not idealized, inward-looking, passive clones (e.g., Jayaswal 1924: 63). But the force of imaginative geography swamps these efforts. The mission of the present demands an uncomplicated, unifying past; it is "profitless" to investigate the real nature of ancient villages (Gandhi 1966: 113). As the British deconstituted and ruled a complex polity by contrasting their "modern" state with "ancient" village communities (Inden 1990: 132), so nationalists further deconstitute and

simplify ancient India. Nationalist politicians and social scientists, refashioning the ancient community for twentieth century use, dissipated any regional individuality or agency nascent in the ancient rural landscape. The imaginative geography of ancient India became encompassing and undifferentiated: either an incipient stateless "oceanic circle" of village communities (Gandhi 1968: 449) or a "vast and ancient rural slum" (Randhawa 1951: 7)

G.K. Chesterton, writing in the Illustrated London News in 1909, criticized Indian nationalists for the kind of independence they claimed to want from Great Britain. The movement, he wrote, was "not very Indian and not very national," since it sought to retain the British-style government, merely substituting Indian administrators for the colonial ones. True independence could be rooted only in authentic Indian institutions. "[T]here is a rational distinction between a people asking for its own ancient life and a people asking for things that have been wholly invented by somebody else" (1909: 491). This article, along with other western writings, clarified Gandhi's own ideas that independence had to develop from India's ancient traditions, and galvanized him to write Hind Swaraj (Indian Home Rule) (Fox 1989: 89). India's political and economic heritage was one of self-reliant villages, and the

ancient village was where Gandhi would situate his argument for authentic Indian solutions to modern life.

In Hind Swaraj Gandhi neatly converted the imagery of the original mythic construction of Munro and Metcalfe. The ancient village, standing stalwart and timeless in the face of the dynasties tumbling around it, now became India. "Rome went, Greece shared the same fate, the might of the Pharaohs was broken, Japan has become westernised, of China nothing can be said, but India is still, somehow or other, sound at the foundation." ([1909] 1924: 63). Gandhi's entire philosophy of "truth" was rooted in the ahistoric, timeless village way of life (Chatterjee 1986: 103). Later, one of his followers would write that "[Gandhi] never tired of talking about the 'self-sufficient, self-governing village republics'. . . because he knew what the villages were at one time, and he wanted to make the living, direct democracy of the village the basis of the Indian democracy of his vision" (Narayan 1959: 42).

Gandhi's vision for India was replete with imagery of reanimating a moribund rural population; he spoke of "reviving" and "resuscitating" villages, tapping the potential for a cooperative way of life that existed in ancient times. "The nearest approach to civilization based upon non-violence is the erstwhile village republic of India. I admit that it was very crude. I know that there was in it no non-violence of my definition and conception. But the germ was there.

. . . It is from that germ that I have developed the technique of non-violence." (1973: 411). The list of village occupations that were a part of the British village description now was transmuted into a vision of the tasks central to improving both a village and its individual citizens. Self-realization of its individual members was the basis for village economic self-sufficiency; the village dweller could begin this process of perfecting himself "by being the village scavenger, spinner, watchman, medicineman and school master all at once" (Gandhi 1966: 75).

According to Gandhi, the ancient village was an indigenous institution, self-sustaining; modern cities were imported developments and exploiting. In ancient times city dwellers and villagers kept to themselves; "large cities were a snare and a useless encumbrance" that villagers wisely avoided (Gandhi [1909] 1924: 65). By exploiting villages, cities broke free of natural restraints. Village revival and national well-being could happen only if economic and political power were decentralized and cities were once again brought under control. "The British have exploited India through its cities. The latter have exploited the villages. The blood of the villages is the cement with which the edifice of the cities is built. I want the blood that is today inflating the arteries of the cities to run once again in the blood vessels of the villages" (1966: 10).

A critical aspect to freeing the villages from the exploitation of the cities was loosening the grip of industrialization. "Industrialization on a mass scale will necessarily lead to passive or active exploitation of the villagers as the problems of competition and marketing come in. Therefore, we have to concentrate on the village being self-contained, manufacturing mainly for use" (1968: 376). Industrialization would then evolve in a "natural economy" (1968: 383), where "as we grow in understanding, if we feel the need of machines, we certainly will have them. . . . We shall introduce machines if and when we need them" (1968: 384).

The cities restrained, the Gandhian landscape now was filled with "innumerable villages in ever-widening but never ascending circles" (Gandhi 1968: 449). For Gandhi's purposes, there were no significant regional differences among villages; successfully remaking one village provides the pattern for remaking all of them (Gandhi 1966: 75). Economic and political relationships among these settlements were clearly articulated in Gandhi's vision. "Every village has to be self-sustained and capable of managing its affairs even to the extent of defending itself against the whole world" (Gandhi 1968: 351). Swadeshi, "the spirit in us which restricts us to the use and service of our immediate surroundings to the exclusion of the more remote," (Gandhi 1962: 40) did not dictate only that Indian goods should be preferred

to British. Ideally, a village was self-sufficient; realistically, relationships with other villages would be necessary, although not desirable. "In no circumstances would we be able to produce all the things we need. So though our aim is complete self-sufficiency, we shall have to get from outside the village what we cannot produce in the village" (Gandhi 1968: 349-350).

Many opposed to Gandhi's vision, or simply not understanding it, protested that the ancient village was never like the way he described. But utopias are beliefs about the world, not descriptions of it (Porter and Lukermann 1976: 204), and it is clear that Gandhi was less concerned with describing a past reality than in recapturing a lost opportunity. In seeking to eliminate all modern exploitation, he profoundly rejected history, wanting to reset the clock to the time before foreign influences choked off the "natural economy" that would have evolved from the earliest village communities. Safely rooted in antiquity, the Gandhian landscape would evolve eventually to a stateless "oceanic circle" of villages (Gandhi 1968: 449). Circumventing history, Gandhi brought India full circle back to its primeval condition when he looked to the future and saw a most ancient image: "Today the villages are dung heaps. Tomorrow they will be like tiny gardens of Eden" (Gandhi 1966: 74).

In 1935 Gandhi undertook to remake a small village in the Central Provinces. Segaon "had no shops and no post office. Only a dirt road linked it with the outside world. The climate was extreme, malaria was rampant. But Segaon was untouched by civilization, and many of its six hundred inhabitants were Harijans. [It was] raw material for a model village" (Ashe 1968: 328). Given such a model, it was perhaps not surprising that many of Gandhi's contemporaries questioned the wisdom of restructuring India's economic and political life around isolated, self-governing villages. For them, the Indian village also needed to be remade, but not at all along ancient lines. "The primitive peasant economy dated from . . . [the] Mohenjo Daro period must be replaced by scientific development" (Singh 1951: vii); "India must awaken from its age-long slumber" (Randhawa 1951: 22). That India's villages in essence had existed unchanged from time immemorial was not disputed; but the timelessness celebrated by Gandhi now embarrassed. "I would like to point out that villages have never been as . . . depicted. . . . What we find today has been there all throughout the ages. Factions are there, conservatism is there and superstitions are there" (Mehta, quoted in Fox 1989: 184). In 1948, in response to Gandhian criticisms that India's Draft Constitution was not based on India's villages, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, the highly accomplished leader of the

Untouchables and perhaps the most vehement critic of life as lived in India's villages, had this to say:

> No doubt the village communities have lasted where nothing else lasts. But those who take pride in the village communities do not care to consider what little part they have played in the affairs and the destiny of the country. . . . That they have survived all vicissitudes may be a fact. But mere survival has no value. . . . I hold that these village republics have been the ruination of India. . . . What is the village but a sink of localism, a den of ignorance, narrow-mindedness and communalism? I am glad that the Draft Constitution has discarded the village and adopted the individual as its unit" (quoted in Hay 1988: 340-341).

## Reawakening the Village

> "I have," said Tagore, "an institution of learning and the arts at Santiniketan which is mainly academic. It is surrounded by villages, some Hindu, some Muslim, some Santal, but all are decaying; all had an ancient culture, but today they appear sick. They are dying. Will you come and help me to find out why?" (Tagore and Elmhirst 1961: 20)

As the twentieth century advanced it was expected that the world's peasants would have to "awake" to participate fully in the programs of modern nation states. Sustained by ancient traditions of hard living, village peasantries ill-fit the modern world, and mobilizing village somnambulists became an urgent post-war problem. "The rousing of this passively industrious mass of humanity has been a slow business. Athens and Florence each flashed her brief candle in the sleeper's drowsy eyes, but each time he just turned onto his side

and sank to sleep again. It was left for modern England to urbanize the peasantry with sufficient energy on a large enough scale to set the movement travelling round the circumference of the Earth. The peasant has not taken this awakening kindly" (Toynbee 1946: 92-93). In India modern methods of communication, emigration, and war recruitment efforts resulted in a peasant "inert with the sleep of centuries . . . conscious but bewildered, like a child rubbing its eyes after sleeping the round of the clock" (Darling 1947: 262-263). But though they had slept as soundly as any, the peasants of India were in a slightly different situation. As inheritors of a documented, immemorial way of life, they had once lived a pristine and healthy existence; it was hoped now that they could reawaken, and villages became the focus of movements designed to "reconstruct," "resuscitate," and "revive" that way of life.

By the end of the nineteenth century, it was generally agreed that the debilitated condition of India's villages was in part a result of colonialism. Diverse attempts were made to revive villages, but tended in the main to coalesce around two philosophies grounded in conceptions of the ancient Indian village: reformulating the "republican" aspect of the ancient village by reinstituting forms of local self-government, and reviving village "self-sufficiency" by rethinking forms of a decentralized national life. Efforts to embody both philosophies began under the British and continued in

independent India. Both philosophies were officially sanctioned, but had very different trajectories. Local self-government has had a long life as an idea, but rather less of one as a reality. The second philosophy of self-sufficiency lent itself more easily to personal vision and has had, therefore, a more varied and imaginative existence.

During his term as Viceroy of India (1880-1884), Lord Ripon focused official attention on responsibility for the decay of Indian rural life and the steps necessary to restore it to health:

> [W]hat I am trying to do is not to impose an English system on India, but to revive and extend the indigenous system of the country. That indigenous system we have done a great deal to destroy, but the remnants of it exist to a greater or less extent in most parts of the country, and it is upon those remnants that I hope to build up my edifice of Local Self-government; that is why I prefer . . . small areas to large, as the unit of my arrangements; in small areas it will be more easy to make full use of what remains of the Village system, and to let the superstructure of Local Government rise upon that ancient foundation (Ripon 1882, quoted in Wolf 1921, 2: 100).

Reestablishing "local self-government" generally manifested itself as the revival of the village panchayat, the ancient elected village council. In spite of its powerful democratic appeal and institutionalization in independent India as panchayati raj, the movement failed to generate intra-community cooperation or regional rural democratization. Much of the "philosophy" was generated on the highest levels of national government, and had few positive effects on more

local, much less village, levels (Neale 1985; Barratt 1974). It was feared that if truly independent, "the panchayats would not plan to do the things that the government wanted them to do" (Neale 1985: 680).

Village panchayats ultimately were derailed on supra-governmental levels and through lack of interest and planning on the most local levels; activities adhering to the second philosophy of village revival, though ultimately no more successful, escaped this fate by their focus on the fundamental relationship between a community and its cultivated land. The imaginative geography was just that -- geographical -- and efforts to rediscover village cooperation were invigorated by the mythic landscape of the past in a way that panchayati raj could never be. "The modern form of the village community . . . is less the Panchayat than the co-operative society" (Darling 1942: 46), and indeed, those seeking to remake the economically autonomous village saw their efforts as "entirely unpolitical" (Darling 1941: 122). Fashioning this "truer" form of the ancient community sometimes concentrated on remaking the villages of a district (the Gurgaon Experiment [citation]), establishing village institutions to investigate utopian options (Tagore's efforts in Sriniketan and Santiniketan) or remaking existing villages (Gandhi's Segaon, which he renamed Sevagram, "village of service").

Gandhi was the first of several visionaries to use the landscape of an obscure "long ago" to create opportunities for the future. He was certainly the most prolific; two others have also left vivid pictures. Both wrote extensively from their perspectives as British civil servants charged with village betterment. One looked forward to a futuristic imaginative geography of perfected village life, based on beliefs in Indian essences and in the necessity of moral virtue for village life. The other was rooted in beliefs about ancient Indian village communities, and especially their fundamental self-sufficient prosperity which new forms of village cooperation could restore. Frank L. Brayne's intensive application of "village uplift" concentrated on one district in Punjab (Gurgaon). Considered a success at the time, the "Gurgaon Experiment" ran from 1920 to 1933; it collapsed upon Brayne's promotion to Commissioner for Rural Reconstruction in 1933, and consequent departure from the district. Brayne focused on village hygiene and prescribed "common sense" approaches to cleanliness and orderliness. He sought less to improve village life by transforming or updating it than by rearranging its elements and perfecting it morally. Material improvements tended to be imposed from above (by him), technological "gimmicks which gave the illusion of efficiency by increasing output while decreasing profits" (Dewey 1993: 66). Brayne felt that acquiring material goods encouraged individual aggrandizement, inconsistent with Indian

tradition (Dewey 1993: 78). Although the ancient ways of doing things had enabled the peasant to survive for many generations, continuing to follow them "will now only bring him increasing misery and final destruction" (Brayne 1949: 4). Ironically, though, Brayne's institution of ill-advised attempts at improvement helped to conserve the decaying village community by binding cultivators closer to their villages in shared poverty.

Although motivated by fantasies of traditional village cooperation, Brayne was an unusual village idealist in that he was animated more by a vision of the future than by one of the distant past. He developed at some length a futuristic Indian dreamscape:

> THE NEW LANDSCAPE: Starting with the farm and countryside we can say at once that anyone flying over the land of our imagination would refuse to believe that he had not lost his way and was not flying over some entirely different country. At the same time although the ensemble is imaginary, there is not one single item in it but which exists in actual fact somewhere. The problem of the planner is to bring all those items together, not in one village, but in every village in India.
>
> HERE, THEN, IS THE NEW LANDSCAPE: [then follows enumeration of roads, trees, crops, irrigation, fruit, bees, livestock]. . . . The countryside looks green, lush and prosperous. Gone is the bare and barren outlook which made our tired eyes yearn for the sight of something green as we travelled mile after weary mile through the neglected and eroding countryside.

Brayne's personal experience with cooperation in the form of his "experiment" was short-lived and very localized. Malcolm Darling, in contrast, based his views of cooperative village communities on his lengthy service in

several parts of north India and his wide wanderings, especially throughout the Punjab. "Darling rode thousands of miles on horseback . . . and everywhere he went, he asked a wide range of informants about an astonishing range of issues. His curiosity was inexhaustible" (Dewey 1993: 173). From this experience Darling formulated his own philosophy about village cooperation, of a more traditional Gandhian stripe, where rebuilding India along cooperative lines would require a faith in "reanimating the ancient" (Dewey 1977: ix). Darling understood that, for all practical purposes, the vast numbers of India's villages and limited government assistance meant that for improvement to be effected, India's villages would have to help themselves. India had, he thought, a particular genius for village-based cooperation; it evolved "automatically" in response to necessity, and although modern life was infiltrating India's ancient villages, the village remained the ideal location to foster cooperation and mutual self-help (Darling 1952: 192; 1957: 9).

The most radical village self-sufficiency visions have been extensions of Gandhi's sarvodaya efforts. The bhoodan-gramdan (land-gift/village-gift) movement in particular is firmly rooted in Gandhi's conception of the ancient community, (Barratt 1974: 273, 284). Bhoodan encourages voluntary individual donations of land to landless cultivators. Gramdan enlarges the concept by seeking a return the "original" communal nature of the village

community through, in effect, the spontaneous endowment of large portions of a village to the collectivity. Gramdan aspires ultimately to "retraction" from the national market economy, remaining focused on "decentralised, low-cost and labour-intensive" village industries. All members of the village would, ideally, be employed, and the village self-sufficient (Barratt 1974: 274). The ideal, decentralized landscape of the future would be a congeries of such self-reliant individual "states" created by "gentle anarchy" (Ostergaard and Currell 1971).

Obviously, any theories of village development informed by changes in relations of production and distribution and the evolution of towns and cities from rural communities would have difficulty encompassing the radical portraits of the Indian village community, past and future. The special status of the Indian village as a relict of the landscape becomes especially clear when compared to an unsentimental 1920s assessment of the history and future options of the twentieth-century English village by the historian and archaeologist, Harold Peake:

> We have now traced the evolution of the English village from its origins in the long distant past to its decay and dissolution in our own time. We have seen it free in the neolithic age among the mountains of central Europe, we have watched its enslavement by wave after wave of fair Nordics emanating from the broad steppe-lands of south Russia and Turkestan, and we have traced the steps by which the individuals of which it was composed gradually attained their freedom, while the community at the same time

> began to disintegrate and decay. Finally we have witnessed its dissolution during the nineteenth century and the abortive attempts at its revival made during the last twenty-five years.
>
> We must now, in the light of this long past, consider its future prospects. We are in this, as in many things, at the parting of the ways. The great European War has brought to a close a great epoch of time, one which began, perhaps, with the inrush of Teutonic hordes upon the decaying Roman Empire, or perhaps a still longer epoch, which started with the westward march of the steppe-folk from beyond the Dnieper at the dawn of the metal age, more than four thousand years ago. What is to be the future of the English Village? We cannot bring to life an organism which has died a natural death, it is scarcely worth while to re-create it on its old model. We have to consider first of all do we desire a community at all. (1922: 220)

The English village, also decaying, perhaps even dead, proved far from immutable. Wave after wave of invaders did not leave it untouched; it developed in consonance with larger events, and its existence reflected the circumstances of its inhabitants, not the other way around. In the final analysis, change was not cataclysmic.

In the end, village cooperative movements were not very successful in regenerating the landscape of the past, or in resisting the influences of modernity. Brayne's experiment eventually foundered on his overbearing approach and the deep poverty of his district. Other cooperation efforts were similarly frustrated -- for communities with a supposedly natural genius for it, cooperation proved elusive. Many cultivators were more interested in government subsidies than true cooperation; there "was no reserve of active

citizens willing to act as honorary officials, for the sake of the common weal; only a pool of opportunists anxious to loot the societies they controlled in the interests of their families and factions" (Darling 1957: 20; Dewey 1993: 189)

According to Frank Brayne, India's villages were suffering from profound moral decay; his late-twentieth-century counterparts might argue that the morally degenerate urban and suburban portions of the planet have so eclipsed the rural that villages, particularly India's, now represent the last outposts of meaningful, purposeful life.[3] Many attempts to understand how contemporary peasants react to world change are grounded in the "historical premise [that] we can posit some set of conditions that depict inert peasant society and enable us to measure and to explain induced social change during modern times" (Ludden 1985: 4). This is the premise informing one geographer's recent journey through India, undertaken to consider how a "culture of development" is destroying the authentic "spirit of the place" of rural Indian landscapes (Wallach 1996). The author derails this promising journey by

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[3]This is especially true for non-Native Americans, unable to lay claim to North America's indigenous village ancestry. If one's closest village ancestors hailed from other continents, there can be a keen, if obscure, sense of loss. Critchfield, the journalist for the Economist, again: "Too many Americans are sick of living in cities and looking at asphalt and feeling lonely -- staring out an inner-city window and seeing a wall of red bricks. So much that matters -- family, ethics, morals -- came out of villages. People who till the soil just have organic ties with nature, physical work and each other that we don't" (1994: 9).

searching for an "opening into the pristine countryside" in the sites of twentieth-century village studies. His search centers on finding places "where a visitor can stand still and feel Asia as it was before the Western wind began to blow"; "one brave effort" finds him in Rani Kheri, the village made famous by Oscar Lewis. He is appalled to find the industrial suburbs of New Delhi encroaching upon this formerly isolated village. "So much for one doomed attempt of mine to find pristine India. I tried again" far south in Eruvellipet, another well-documented village. This was slightly more satisfying -- "much of what Gilbert Slater saw in 1916 I could see in 1991" -- but he was unable to linger since the village's primitiveness, though appealing, unfortunately made no accommodation for visitors. A peripatetic Goldilocks, he eventually discovers in Bangladesh that Silaidaha, Rabindranath Tagore's home, is pristinely just right, using almost no electricity, but equipped with an air-conditioned guest house in the nearby town (Wallach 1996: 14-38). Finally he is able to stay in one place. He climbs into Tagore's cupola to see the countryside as Tagore saw it -- in itself, not an unreasonable activity, but not much more informative about the fate of the rural Indian landscape than James Tod's self-reflections in Mount Girnar one hundred and fifty years earlier.

Clearly, the self-sufficient Indian village community in a once "pristine" landscape constitutes an authoritative tradition that continues to resonate

widely. Within this tradition, it is acknowledged that modern-day Indian villages are not isolated, but are deeply embedded in complex networks through space. Much of the contradiction generated by these two rather opposing points is eased by depositing the weight of authoritative tradition in the village of the past, even if "past" means 1916. Orientalism "is not the moribund legacy of colonialism . . . [but has] gained new authority and vitality, to which scholars all across the spectrum have contributed. . . . Such scholarship reinvigorates the authority of orientalism as a body of knowledge by reinvocation, as it marginalizes and obscures evidence supporting other images of precolonial India" (Ludden 1993: 272). The fact that intricate spatial networks existed in the recent and distant pasts, and that rural populations were not exclusively bound to villages, rarely appears in considerations of past village landscapes. One "other image" of precolonial India is that villages, towns, and cities changed locations and sometimes exchanged identities; Valabhipur, once the massive capital of a kingdom in western India, was once a village and is one again today. Yet a more powerful and shifting landscape image is slighted as past rural landscapes continue to be constructed from the view of the lone visitor, seeking a panorama of rural simplicity.

Every Indian village has multiple pasts (Cohn 1987c), but the ancient past of any given village is as likely to be "mythologized" as much as it is to be archaeological or historical. Mythologized pasts are persuasive because they "need not be historically accurate . . . [but] must be believable, even if wrong" (Cohen 1992: 83). Since only an "unknowable past" can continually be remade to suit the purposes of the present (Lowenthal 1985: 370), it is argued that empirical investigations into alternative ancient Indian realities have been suppressed when they conflict with the mythologized, almost indelible portrait of the ancient village.

The colonial legacy of the "mythologized" ancient community has been so compelling and persuasive that certain archaeological questions of Indian historical space and time, such as the nature and distribution of different kinds of communities through time, are only recently being formulated, most particularly in the Ganges Valley ( Lal 1984; Erdosy 1988). Earlier efforts were directed to "the construction of culture sequences to be equated with ethnic groups . . . [which] coincided well with the culture-historical orientation given Indian archaeology by the combined efforts of Sir Mortimer Wheeler . . . and Stuart Piggott - author of the first comprehensive account of prehistoric India" (Erdosy 1988: 7). The fact that settlement issues have long been an emphasis in prehistoric, Harappan archaeology bears this out. Freed from any

immediate relevance to contemporary or historical India, Harappan researchers have focused on processual issues and regional variations, and called for "paradigm changes" when an expanding data base makes previous interpretations untenable (Dyson 1982). In contrast, "the goal of the excavators of Early Historic sites has primarily been the construction of culture sequences, . . . evidence consist[ing] primarily of lists of traits attributed to various cultural periods . . . [and] evidence for subsistence and settlement patterns and social organisation is almost completely lacking" (Erdosy 1985: 510). Until recently, then, the tendency for historical archaeology in India has been less to formulate and pursue archaeological problems and more to provide "tangible" answers to questions posed by historians, measuring changes in technology and the plastic arts (metals, pottery, coinage). As a discipline, archaeology is only beginning to speak with authority about India's post-Harappan past, and to complicate the image of the ancient past fixed by the Fifth Report.

## Chapter 4

## THE DREAMWORKERS

As larger portions of India came under British rule after the 1820s, tensions created by the close association of ruler and ruled set off cycles of defining and redefining the colonial domain (Said 1978: 228-229). This domesticating process found expression in scientific explorers who moved through an increasingly familiar India; since it belonged to them, they were less moved to quote ancient Greek poetry than to compose their own. These observers were no longer electrified by wild nature and the agreeable horror of ruins, but instead inhabited a space of scientific tranquility. The awesome monuments of an earlier day had shrunk to manageable sizes; so Alexander Cunningham concluded his report on the archaeology of the Bhilsa Topes (1854: 368):

> Nought but the Topes themselves remain to mock
> Time's ceaseless efforts; yet they proudly stand
> Silent and lasting up their parent rock,
> And still as cities under magic's wand;
> Till curious Saxons, from a distant land,
> Unlocked the treasures of two thousand years;
> And the lone scene is peopled; here a band

> of music wakes the echoes; there the cheers
> of multitudes, alive with human hopes and fears.

Fortunately, the first century of archaeology in India was a contentious one and generated voluminous documentation of various scientific developments. A variety of issues incited frustration and rancor; every anniversary or institutional reorganization provided occasions to review and second guess decisions made in earlier periods. Histories of archaeology usually read as advancements from early tentative speculations about antiquity to the development of rational, objective sciences of data gathering. India's history is no different, as the collection and cataloguing of objects -- inscriptions, coins, sculpture -- gives way to the responsible protection of neglected monuments and the development of epigraphy and, ultimately, to the science of stratigraphic excavation.

But as the discipline matures, some archaeologists have come to realize how illusory an objective science of the past is (Ucko 1990: xiii). Archaeologists are only now beginning to see that the problems they pursue and the answers they reach differ around the world, and the extent to which archaeology has been charged with, or created for, reinforcing political values and questions must be factored into any scientific understandings of the past (Trigger 1984: 355; Leone 1975: 195). Archaeology's identity as the field

science of the past awards it the special responsibility for creating a meaningful ancient landscape. In India especially, archaeological information alone can counter the fantasies that politics and tourism project upon ancient monuments. For that reason, the trajectory of Indian archaeology as a field science is worth tracing.

Lowenthal (1979: 109) suggests that appreciation of antiquity is structured in three activities: "recognition and celebration, maintenance and preservation, and enrichment and enhancement." In the context of colonial India, these activities occurred in a sequence of three stages through which archaeological research evolved. Of particular interest throughout these stages is the careful balancing act by which India's material antiquity was domesticated and absorbed into the British domain, while keeping flesh-and-blood Indians at a distance. At Independence, the necessary reconciliation of Indians to their own material past was accomplished by a strong push into the landscape of "real" archaeologists -- the open air of fieldwork.

## Recognizing the Past: James Fergusson and Alexander Cunningham

Begining in 1834, James Fergusson undertook several long tours through Indian wildernesses in search of ancient architecture, travelling through the Indian countryside. Originally sent to India to work in the family business and

later as an indigo planter, Fergusson quickly jettisoned his business dealings for studying first-hand the architectural history of the subcontinent. He still was empowered to "explore," seeking out the new and unknown, but the possibilities of astonishment had been curtailed. Up through 1845 he followed the faint footsteps left by those before him and expressed the frustrations of the field scientist whose work began where others, less attentive to scholarship, more casually left off. "I feel convinced that future explorers in this field will thank me for my outline of the subject: I am certain they would, if they were exposed to the disappointments that often awaited me, and the absurd wild-goose chases after buildings of primaeval antiquity which I was led to undertake on the authority of Tod and others, who ought to have known better. Indeed, the greater part of my time was taken up in looking for "very old" buildings" (Fergusson 1848: iii).

Although travelling years after Tod and the Daniells, and through a more established British dominion, Fergusson's tours were as arduous as theirs had been and his research as hard-won. Generally without access to government or East India Company accommodations or assistance, he travelled alone, hiring what bearers he could on the way. Much of his attention was devoted to the ruins of north and central India, because the further south he travelled the less certain he was of receiving assistance. Travel delays made it

difficult to estimate how long he could afford to spend in any particular place; he took to travelling at night and working during the day to free up as much time as possible for research and drawing. He moved about by camel, palanquin, or foot, and was often hungry and tired (Fergusson 1848: iii-iv).

India was still, as it had been for Edmund Burke, a "great and important object," but Fergusson's experiences of the Indian landscape were markedly free of the shock and thrill of the earlier age. Instead of experiencing phenomena and reporting his reactions, Fergusson was one of the first to try to understand and explain them, believing that if one worked hard enough, India's complexity and vastness would not astonish or overwhelm, but could instead be mastered. To this end, he designed and executed the first systematic survey of architecture in India, that of rock-cut cave temples. "[A]ll my journies were undertaken for the sole purpose of antiquarian research, I was enabled to devote my whole and undivided attention to the subject, and all my notes and sketches were made with only one object in view, that of ascertaining the age and object of these hitherto mysterious structures. Whereas, most of those who have hitherto written on the subject, though drawing and writing better than I can pretend to do, have only visited the caves and temples incidentally while travelling on other avocations; and none that I know of, have been able to embrace so extensive a field of research as I have" (Fergusson 1845: 3). He

furthermore sought to make his depictions of ancient architecture the most scientifically correct using, during his earliest travels, a camera lucida, and later, photography (Fergusson 1848: iv; Mitter 1992: 260).

Communicating the results of this mastery, however, posed another problem. India's "very variety . . . renders it so difficult for even those who have long studied the question, on the spot, to master the problem in all its complexity of detail. It unfortunately, too, becomes, in consequence, almost impossible to convey to those who have not had these advantages, any clear ideas on the subject . . . requiring more study than most persons are able or inclined to bestow upon it" (Fergusson and Burgess [1880] 1969: 5). Fergusson's early efforts to make his hard work intelligible to a British audience included a portrayal of India's ancient architecture in a picturesque scheme (Fergusson 1848). This "most easily understood form" was familiar, containing as it did colored plates of ancient buildings and travel vignettes; new to the format, however, was Fergusson's reasoned tone which countered previous sublime accounts of India's customs and ruins. The "horrid scene" of the Jaggernaut, for example, he recorded impassively as a festive occasion enjoyed by all in spite of the car irredeemably stuck in the mud (Fergusson 1848: 25-26). His encounters with solitary ruin dwellers tended more to the

comical than the sublime, as in his explorations he sometimes interrupted the dinner of an angry "Fakeer" (Fergusson 1845: 11).

His impatience, however, with British enthusiasm for India's "primeval antiquity" was the most original aspect of his work. Some writers "as if infected by the contagion, have indulged in speculation, scarce less wild and absurd than those of the modern Hindus themselves. . . . In the monuments, their acknowledged 'primeval antiquity' has prevented any further elucidation" (Fergusson 1848: 2). India was not the only site of this contagion, as archaeologists generally became irrational in the presence of objects which patently were ancient, but without documentation. "So far from questioning the antiquity of anything, thousands and tens of thousands of years are ready to be heaped up on any monument or object that cannot produce a written certificate of its birth. . . . The cry now is, it belonged to people who have long passed away: we know nothing of their language or their religion, still less of their manners or customs; and if this be so, it is no use inquiring for what purpose the monument was erected, nor at what period" (Fergusson 1870a: 43). According to Fergusson, such arguments were, at best, unscientific and at worst, sentimental. To him, solid architecture spoke with more truth than the written word, particularly in India where written chronicles and legends seemed unreliable and inconsistent. Diligent application and patience would cause the

stones to speak; one needed only to be equipped to hear and prepared to listen. "For months together I lived among buildings and the works of art they contain, and I have looked on them long and steadfastly, and until I could read in the chisel marks on the stone the idea that guided the artist in his design, till I could put myself by his side, and identify myself with him through his work, I never felt satisfied" (Fergusson 1849: xiv).

Fergusson's visits to remote sites, seeking harmony and picturesque gratification in ancient buildings, illustrated his point. The Jain temple at Sadri, for example -- difficult to reach, deep in vegetation and steeped in solitude -- revealed how his approach differed from the earlier age. This was a building Fergusson deeply admired and understood. Instead of being aghast or enthralled by a spectacular architectural achievement, he found the temple remarkable for its balance, its tameness, its reassuring lack of extremes; furthermore, the viewer was no longer central in the tableau. Even the conventional solitary ruin-resident was diminished, as the building came to the fore and the observer receded:

> I believe I am the first European that ever visited this temple . . . Colonel Tod speaks of, but never saw it; and I had the greatest possible difficulty in finding it, not from any unwillingness on the part of the natives to shew it, but simply that it was forgotten, and no one cared about it. It is situated, with several other temples, at a distance of about six miles from the village of Sadri, in a deep and wild glen, running into the western slope of the Aravulli. At one time it may have been partially cultivated, but

> now it is covered with a deep forest; and the old woman who opened the temple seemed to be the only inhabitant. . . .
>
> As a whole, I look upon this as about the most satisfactory temple I have seen in India. It is true, it is neither so splendid nor astonishing as those on Mount Abu; nor does it belong to so pure an age. But there is a completeness in this one that they want: and the whole is in good taste and good keeping. . . . In the south of India there are halls larger than this temple, and whose roofs are supported by more than twice the number of columns here employed, but, owing to the inartistic mode in which they are arranged, none of them produce any thing like the effect here attained. Indeed, there is a play of light and shade in this temple, without either too much glare or too much gloom in any part of it, and a variety and complexity in its design and disposition without either confusion or extravagance that render it to my eye one of the most pleasing columnar interiors I know. Look at it from which point you will, you are never perplexed by a labyrinthine confusion you cannot unravel; and the variety of perspective and detail that everywhere opens upon you, prevents the eye from being fatigued in wandering through it. Not that I had much time for tiring of what I saw there; for I had come fifteen miles on my camel to the spot, had been detained more than an hour waiting for guides at Sadri, had to make the sketch of the interior and one of the outside, besides a plan of the building, and, lastly, to find my way to my tent without a guide, through eight miles of a wild and jungly country, and with the night fast closing around me (Fergusson 1848: 41-42).

After eleven years of intensive, first-hand study of ancient Indian buildings, Fergusson returned to England in 1846 where he spent the rest of his life as a preeminent architectural critic. In the days before architecture had evolved into a profession he was a talented amateur, ranking well below Ruskin in terms of influence, but nonetheless greatly respected as the author of several of the major Victorian architectural texts, including his still influential History

of the Modern Styles of Architecture. In England he remained an active participant in debates over the character of ancient Indian architecture, continued to publish analyses of his earlier field research, corresponded with his colleagues based in India (mainly James Burgess and Alexander Cunningham), and reviewed sculpture and plaster models sent back home. He was a strong supporter of archaeological research, generously subsidizing excavations and related projects in Jerusalem (White 1891: xxxii); Schliemann dedicated his Excavations of Tiryns to him (Pevsner 1972: 238).

Perhaps because Fergusson never returned to India after his youthful days spent searching out obscure buildings, his career today has a strange duality: architectural historians note him as a major Victorian critic and historian of European architecture, and Indologists still reference him as a leading authority in the identification of Indian buildings. It is instructive, however, to examine the specifics of Fergusson's opinions about the development of Indian architecture in light of his beliefs about the nature of architecture in general. Working at a time of active debate over the relevance of Gothic and classical styles of architecture for modern times, Fergusson weighed in on the issues and projects of the day -- charges of "copyism" (reviving older styles) versus originality, for example, and the near-constant battle over just how "medieval" the restoration of St. Paul's cathedral

legitimately could be. [ref] Fergusson was vocal and consistent in his opinions: "This and only this is how the architect should work. He ought to 'design a building wholly and solely for the purpose for which it is to be used, without the least reference to any bygone age'. He ought to construct in the best available materials according to their properties" (Fergusson quoted and paraphrased in Pevsner 1972: 223).

Following the Victorian distinction between "industrial" and "fine" arts (Mitter 1994), it was common also to distinguish "building" or engineering from "architecture," the artistic ornament of structures. In addition to identifying ancient building styles and tracing their development through time, measuring the Indian capacity for architecture was one of Fergusson's major occupations. And one of the main themes of his work was established early on: namely, that no form of stone building or architecture existed, not in structures nor in carved caves, before the arrival of Alexander the Great (Fergusson and Burgess [1880] 1969: 29). The Greek uses of stone for engineering and ornamental purposes were revelations to the Indians, but ones that they never mastered; Fergusson saw evidence of this all over India in the form of rock-cut caves:

> We have caves . . . which [were] excavated certainly after Asoka's time, in which not only every decorative feature is directly copied from a wooden original, but the whole of the front, the ribs of the roof, and all the difficult parts of the construction were originally

> in wood . . . [also] the posts dividing the nave from the aisles all slope inwards. In a wooden building having a circular roof, the timber work of which was from its form liable to spread, it was intelligible that the posts that supported it, should be placed sloping inwards, so as to counteract the thrust. No people, however, who had ever built or seen a stone pillar, would have adopted such a solecism in the rock (Fergusson and Burgess [1880] 1969: 29-30).

Even when exposed to the idea of using stone, then, Indian craftsmen were incapable of reading their materials properly and were reduced merely to copying their wooden forms into more durable versions. Fergusson saw further evidence of this fundamental misapprehension of principles and misfit of "truth" between material and form also in the construction of the arch in India. Allowing that Indians perhaps eventually grasped the engineering possibilities of stone, Fergusson doubted their ability to understand the engineering advancements that this new medium promised. From the very start of his tours of India, he had been struck by the absence of "true" (radiating) arches in any of the ancient buildings he located, instead finding only horizontally constructed ones. Although the constant pressures exerted by radiating arches contributed to the quick destruction of damaged buildings, and horizontal arches remained infinitely more stable (and Fergusson sometimes was looking at an ancient horizontal arch, the only standing piece left of a ruined building), the decision to use the latter still counted against Indian builders. Instead of perceiving the superiority of the principle of the

radiating arch and refining it for their purposes, Indian builders were driven by the fear of structural collapse to use horizontal arches, and fear further propelled them insensibly to reinforce even those stable forms; "the horizontal principle is entirely misplaced" (Fergusson 1891, 1: 211). Just as they had been blind to the possibilities of stone, so Indians were unable to make use of the superior engineering of the radiating arch once they learned of it. They "carried their horror of an arch to an excess," (1891, 1: 210), and resisted all attempts at reason:

> [T]he earlier Mahometan buildings in Hindostan, though designed with their own keyed, pointed arch form, are frequently constructed by the Hindu builders on the horizontal principle, which they never would have done had they been able to construct an arch. . . . [in the Qutab Minar complex near Delhi the center arch is a] perfectly formed equilateral pointed arch, as was common in Mahometan architecture at that day; but even this great arch is constructed horizontally, though the Mahometans were perfectly acquainted with the principle of the arch long before this time, and never would have allowed it to be so constructed if they could have found a builder capable of executing it on more scientific principles (Fergusson 1848: 12).

It wasn't that genius had not existed in India; it had, but had been expressed in wood and was gone, with subsequent generations reduced to mere copyism -- further proof that culturally India had been in decline since before Buddhist times. Decay was inevitable in a people paralyzed by innovation. "Whenever a nation are really in earnest in any pursuit they never hesitate to inquire whether such a thing has been done before -- or, as we would phrase it,

whether it is correct or not -- but eagerly seize on every idea or every invention that may aid them in the accomplishment of their object; and it was thus with the Etrurians in their utilitarian pursuits, they found the arch admirably adapted to enable them to perfect their roads by bridging the streams, and to complete their tunnels and form their drains, and they used it with a boldness and originality" (1849: 464). Indians, on the other hand, responded in such contorted ways to similar problems, that they inadvertently created beauty. Indeed, the only form of sublime appreciation that possessed Fergusson was awe at the spectacular results when Indians misapplied architectural principles:

> Although the Brahmanical and Jaina caves . . . sometimes rival and even surpass [Buddhist caves] in magnificence, they have neither their originality nor their truthfulness. They are either inappropriate imitations . . . or copies of their own structural temples, whose details were derived from some wooden or brick original, and whose forms were designed for some wholly different application, without the least reference to their being executed as monoliths in the side of a hill. Notwithstanding these defects, however, there is an expression of grandeur and of quasi eternity, in a temple cut in the rock, which is far greater than can be produced by any structural building of the same dimensions, while the amount of labour evidently required for their elaboration is also an element of greatness that never fails to affect the mind of the spectator (Fergusson and Burgess [1880] 1969: 35-36).

Fergusson irritated many with his common-sense treatments of architectural design and his dismissal of entire architectural traditions. India was hardly alone in not measuring up; he found Germany, the United States,

and all of northwestern Europe vastly deficient under the rules of architectural truth that he propounded (Pevsner 1972: 245). In the context of Indian research, the affectionate tone found in biographies and obituaries of the major Indian archaeologists of nearly every generation -- Prinsep, Cunningham, Marshall, Wheeler -- was entirely absent when Fergusson was the topic. His uninterrupted stream of analysis on all topics of the ancient Indian landscape commanded immense respect, however. His first publication, the essay on rock-cut temples which initiated systematic archaeological surveying, alone was sufficient to interest the government in the identification and preservation of India's ancient buildings and monuments (Burgess 1905: 133).

The second phase of recognizing and ordering the ancient landscape took place in the course of the other great empirical project, which attempted to identify on the ground the various temples and cities mentioned in early Chinese travel narratives, and began with the 1861 appointment of Alexander Cunningham to the newly created post of Archaeological Surveyor of India. The post-Mutiny establishment of the Indian empire reordered British priorities regarding India's antiquity and highlighted responsibility for their safekeeping. Antiquarian interests until mid-century had been mainly the purview of rare individuals such as Fergusson, with personal means and time to devote to scholarship, or of district officers and military personnel with

antiquarian inclinations. Alexander Cunningham was one of the latter. His distinguished military career as an engineer and surveyor posted him in far-flung regions of India, and included service in both of the Sikh wars, the construction of a number of bridges and monuments, and settlements of various boundaries. All the while, he also pursued seriously a number of archaeological interests, primarily concerning the analysis of ancient coins (an interest fostered through his deep friendship with James Prinsep), and the discovery and exploration of Buddhist monuments -- excavations of the "topes" or stupas, and debating the significance and reliability of newly available accounts written by Chinese pilgrims travelling through Buddhist India.

Especially after his retirement from the army, the latter topic became a focus for Cunningham's work. The publication in 1836 of the translation of Fa-Hsien's account of his journey through India during the fourth century, and the long-awaited translation in 1857 of a more detailed account by Hsuan-Tsang in the seventh century, created a sensation in the small community of antiquarian geographers (Imam 1966: 51-54). A number of scholars immediately began the work of associating places named in the texts to the inventory of Indian antiquities and sites, including H.H. Wilson, Vivien de St. Martin and, eventually, James Fergusson. But Cunningham was uniquely positioned to link the texts with visible remnants of ancient cities and temples

in the field, a point he made when he first proposed the establishment of a survey of the ancient monuments and sites of India. Cunningham's plan was to use the Chinese pilgrim narratives as guides, calculating the directions and distances provided by Fa-Hsien and Hsuan-Tsang to recreate in the present day what the landscape looked like when the now-dead and lost cities, temples, and shrines were active. His project would not be an ad hoc personal enterprise, culminating only in identification and documentation. From the first, Cunningham's proposal advanced the primacy of site visits and on-site judgments regarding which aspects of the man-made landscape deserved official protection and maintenance. The material requirements of such a survey were quite modest, but intellectually could only be performed by someone with his particular field skills:

> To conduct these researches in the most efficient manner would require the services of at least two persons, one of whom should be a good draftsman. But the one to whose judgment the selection of objects for preservation is to be confided should have a knowledge of the ancient history of India. He should be conversant with the sculptured forms and religious practices of the present day, and with the discoveries made by Prinsep and others in Indian Palaeography and Numismatology; without such a head to guide the selection of objects worthy of preservation the labor of the most perfect draftsman would be thrown away (Cunningham 1848: 536).

When he retired from the army in 1861 and submitted a similar proposal to the Viceroy, Lord Canning agreed: "it will not be to our credit, as an enlightened ruling power, if we continue to allow such fields of investigation . . . to remain without more examination . . . Everything that has hitherto been done in this way has been done by private persons, imperfectly and without system" (quoted in Burgess 1905: 137-138). Thus approved, Cunningham applied his system through four fieldwork seasons.

Cunningham published the results of his field study in the first volumes of Archaeological Survey reports; the republication of his findings as Ancient Geography of India remains a major reference work. But connecting Hsuan-Tsang's narrative with the real landscape was not as straightforward as it might have at first seemed. In addition to dramatic changes in river courses, the disappearance of landmarks, changes in place names, and the deciphering and conversion of Chinese measurements of distance and direction, the French translation of the Chinese document introduced further problems of interpretation (e.g., Fergusson 1873: 269). Cunningham made his own field calculations which then were debated and reinterpreted by others. Fergusson, for one, wrote a lengthy discussion of some of Cunningham's determinations, and reanalyzed large parts of the text against his own knowledge of the countryside (1873). He emphasized that reading Hsuan-Tsang's narrative

against a map would render a completely incorrect portrait of seventh century India. Even Cunningham wandering the actual landscape came up wanting, because he failed to read the landscape properly. According to Fergusson, Cunningham, in effect, treated the real world as a flat map, failing to allow for differences in the pilgrim's progress over hills and through jungle as opposed to travel on roads or through cultivated land, resulting in the misidentification of sites (Fergusson 1873: 217). In addition to understanding local conditions one also needed knowledge of local histories and ecologies:

> [Cunningham] takes the Pilgrim across the Ganges; but fancying he detects a similarity between the words Pubna and Paundra, he takes him south-east instead of east: though if he knew Pubna and its neighborhood as well as I do, he would know that two centuries would be a very long life for a city in that neighbourhood. Some centuries hence the country in that neighbourhood may be sufficiently consolidated to admit of a town being built so near the banks of Ganges as Pubna is; but in the past this certainly was not the case, and the site of that village must have been under the bed of the Ganges at least half a dozen times in the last twelve centuries (1873: 239).

## Preserving the Past

Although he had evocatively proposed to "tread in the footsteps of the Chinese pilgrims," and "follow the footsteps of Alexander himself," Cunningham's plan did not involve actually retracing ancient itineraries from west to east (Cunningham 1848: 535; 1871: 82; Chakrabarti 1988: 58-59).

One of the major purposes of archaeology, he believed, was the identification of ancient cities (Imam 1966: 184) and he concentrated his first efforts as India's Archaeological Surveyor in the vicinity of Benares, looking for various Buddhist sites mentioned by Hsuan-Tsang. Debates about the identification of individual sites continued well into the next century, but the virtue of systematically surveying the existing remains, even with tentative identifications, was generally obvious. After a break in his service, Cunningham returned in 1871 to an expanded Survey whose responsibilities had been broadened from identification to registration and protection of ancient ruins (Bühler 1895: 649). Cunningham and his two assistants, Mr. Beglar and Mr. Carlleyle, set out to do this.

Identification of sites could be contested, but their "protection" presupposed an ability to make final determinations about the nature and value of ruins. In a "Memorandum of Instructions" to his two assistants, Cunningham listed the types of information to be gathered about various ruins. With regard to their protection, he could say only that in light of the "very limited" knowledge of India's ancient architecture and monuments, it was imperative to remain aware of possible historical significance of otherwise insignificant buildings, to look for specimens that illustrate the development of Indian architecture, as well as any exhibiting particularly beautiful or skillful

decoration; "whatever is striking either in form or in design is worthy of preservation. . . . the selection of the best typical specimens must be left entirely to the taste and judgment of the assistant employed on this duty" (Cunningham 1873: iv-vi).

Protection clearly was in the eye of the surveyor. Carlleyle reproached his predecessors for their "mania" for destroying stupas through excavation, and trusted that the Survey would no longer direct its energies "to the injury, disfigurement or destruction of ancient historical buildings, but to their preservation, and, whence practicable, to their repair" (Carlleyle, quoted in Chakrabarti 1988: 91). One of Carlleyle's major accomplishments during his tenure with the Survey was his work at Kusinagara. Cunningham had earlier identified the village of Kasia as the site of ancient Kusinagara where Buddha had died, and assigned Carlleyle the task of examining the mounds and ruins. In the course of his explorations, Carlleyle discovered the lost colossal statue of the Nirvana of Buddha reported by Hsuan-Tsang. Less celebrated was his method of protecting it and making it "better than ever":

> I found that the statue itself was very much broken and that many portions of it were wanting. The upper part of the left leg, and both feet, and the left hand, and a portion of the body about the waist, and a portion of the head and face, were entirely gone; and a portion of the left arm, which had been lost at some former period, had been replaced by stucco, or brick covered with a coating of strong plaster. . . . When about to commence the repairs of the statue, I discovered that some fragments of the

> statue had been built in under it, into the Singhasan. I then had the greater portion of the statue lifted off from the Singhasan, with great difficulty, and commenced to dig . . . [and] recovered a great many of the missing portions . . . I was thus enabled to restore most of the statue with its own fragments, but still several portions were wanting. I had, however, found several rough pieces of stone in the excavations which I made in various parts of the great mound, and I fitted these into the gaps in the statue; and when I fell short of stone, I restored the remaining portions with a strong compound-like stucco, composed of a cement formed of various ingredients, among which was Portland cement, I having been so fortunate as to obtain a little Portland cement through the kindness of Mr. Peart, who was then District Engineer of Gorakhpur. I also entirely repaired, restored, and beautified the Singhasan. . . .
>
> After having completed the repairs and restoration of the statue, I gave it a coating of paint, in order to preserve the stone; and I coloured the face, neck, hands, and feet, a yellowish flesh-colour, and I coloured the drapery white; and I also gave a black tint to the hair. Thus I really made the statue as good and as perfect as ever it was, -- or perhaps even better than ever it was (Carlleyle 1885: 17-20).

As Cunningham had structured the Survey, restorations done in the area assigned to Carlleyle were done entirely at his discretion. When a less remote and more contested site was at issue, its protection could provoke vehement protests. When Cunningham turned his attention to Bodh Gaya, it became the focus of spirited debate over the nature and quality of ancient Indian architectural remains.

Beginning in the early nineteenth century, several Burmese missions worked to renovate the main temple at Bodh Gaya while the British concentrated their attention on various inscriptions found at or near the site.

Not until Cunningham first visited in 1861 did British attention focus on the Mahabodhi temple itself, and a host of questions ensued: whether this temple was the one reported by Hsuan-Tsang, to what extent it had been restored in antiquity, how appropriate the Burmese reconstructions had been, and, most puzzling, how it had come to have radiating arches. How "true," in other words, was much of the architecture of the temple? Restoration was clearly called for; at what point should time be made to stop at Bodh Gaya?

Determining the "original" state of the Bodh Gaya shrine was impossible. After Buddha's enlightenment it had been simply the bodhi tree and probably a platform. Asoka built a small shrine and placed a stone railing around the site in the third century B.C. Fa-Hsien reported visiting a tower on the site; Hsuan-Tsang also visited the shrine, and his description indicated that a number of renovations had taken place between the fourth and seventh centuries. Many phases of major building and renovation appeared to have occurred especially during the Shunga, Kushana, and Gupta periods. It seemed clear that every relic at Bodh Gaya had been uprooted and rearranged multiple times at some point in antiquity or in the recent past, including the tree itself (Malandra 1988)

On Cunningham's recommendation, Major Mead undertook excavations at Bodh Gaya; his report was never published, although a number of other

authorities took note of the Mahabodhi temple architecture, including the leading native Indian antiquarian, Rajendralal Mitra. When a Burmese mission began another renovation at the temple in 1877, Mitra was invited by the Government of Bengal to inspect and advise them in their work (Mitra [1878] 1972). Mitra was most impressed by the temple's radiating arches and vaulted interiors. Familiar, as every antiquarian in India was, with Fergusson's opinions about indigenous capabilities in architectural matters, Mitra immediately saw the implications. "The arches were formed exactly as a radiating arch should be"; some further peculiarities indicated clearly to Mitra that the architects of the Mahabodhi temple intended their bricks to mimic stone forms. "This fact is worthy of special note, as it shows that the arches were copies of stone originals, and such originals were known to the people" (Mitra [1878] 1972: 104-105). To Fergusson's argument that those arches actually dated from the fourteenth century, and had been introduced by the Burmese, Mitra argued that "the Burmese officers who came to repair the temple were not themselves architects, nor did they bring any bricklayers and masons with them. They came with money, as did their successors last year, and employed the masons of Gaya [who] were mostly, if not all, Hindus, who depended on their own knowledge of architecture and did not borrow anything from the Burmese. They had unquestionably seen Muhammadan architects

building arches, and if they had copied them they would have produced the true Saracenic foiled arch." Furthermore, he argued, the Bodh Gaya arches were sufficiently different from Islamic ones in their construction, as indicated by inferior engineering and clay cement, as to constitute evidence of an early, indigenous form of this engineering principle (Mitra [1878] 1972: 112-113).

The style of the stone railings at Bodh Gaya, and what it implied about the state of architecture in ancient India, were another point of much contention between Fergusson and Mitra. Each read the structure and decoration of the rails and came to a completely opposite conclusion regarding the question of the development of stone architecture in India (Mitra [1878] 1972: 147 ff; Fergusson [1884] 1974: 92-100). Fergusson was an irascible colleague, quick to criticize; it had been "an evil moment" when Mitra had been invited to Bodh Gaya (Fergusson [1884] 1974: 84). Before this controversy, he and Mitra had argued several times in print, as they both also had with Cunningham and other archaeologists working in India. Nearly every aspect of the identification of antiquity in India was arguable, in particular the location of sites and the dates of ancient architecture. As for how best to protect antiquity in the landscape, questions naturally arose regarding just who was sufficiently qualified to make irreversible decisions regarding restoration.

Once a little Portland cement was poured on a site such as Bodh Gaya, it would be hard to go back.

In the course of the conflict over Bodh Gaya and the existence of stone architecture in India, Mitra wrote several apologia; Fergusson, as the major critic of the architectural capacities of ancient Indians, was an obvious opponent, and he responded sharply. The modern relevance of their disagreement lies in the fact that Mitra took the opportunity to analyze the architecture of Bodh Gaya in light of theories of the day that impugned the inherent intellectual capacity of ancient, and by extension modern, Indians. Particularly offensive to him was Fergusson's insistence, purely on the basis of the coincidental dates of Alexander's arrival and the appearance of the first known stone "architecture," that the Greeks had introduced the use of stone to India. Mitra had countered, very reasonably, that the quality of the carving of the Asokan pillars clearly indicated a long-standing facility with stone work ([1875] 1961: 21). Furthermore, he argued, global perspectives and comparisons were inappropriate; the only proper context for judging Indian architecture could be India itself:

> But whatever the origin or the age of ancient Indian architecture, looking to it as a whole it appears perfectly self-evolved, self-contained, and independent of all extraneous admixture. It has its peculiar rules, its proportions, its particular features, -- all bearing impress of a style that has grown from within, -- a style which expresses in itself what the people, for whom, and by

> whom, it was designed, thought, and felt, and meant, and not what was supplied to them by aliens in creed, colour and race. A few insignificant ornaments apart, its merits and its defects are all its own, and the different forms it has assumed in different provinces are all modifications, or adaptations, to local circumstances, of one primitive idea. It may, therefore, be treated by itself without reference to foreign art (Mitra [1875] 1961: 22)

Much, then, was at stake in the determination of the quality of ancient architecture. Mitra felt so keenly that the reputation of modern-day India rested on the skills allowed it in antiquity that he began his two-volume work on the Indo-Aryans by republishing his essay reviewing and refuting the various arguments regarding the Indians, the Greeks, and stone architecture (Mitra 1881: 1-50).

Fergusson for his part escalated the dispute in his review of Indian archaeology (Fergusson [1884] 1974). The main purpose of his essay was ostensibly to pick apart Mitra's arguments regarding ancient architecture; he framed his discussion in the contemporary controversy over the Ilbert Bill,[1] which made for some convoluted reasoning of his own. For example, Fergusson argued, Mitra's views regarding stone architecture in India constituted sham scholarship, "well worthy of attention as a psychological study by any one interested in the intellectual status of the Hindus, and is a

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[1]The Ilbert Bill of 1883 proposed to make Europeans subject to Indian justices in criminal proceedings. The strong resistance of the European community created a counter-agitation on the part of Indians, which was "the first act of embryonic Indian nationalism" (Stein 1998: 272).

curious example of that sort of mosaic, from different and frequently irrelevant documents, by which clever native vakils in Mofussil courts try to puzzle and obfuscate the slower intellects of Anglo-Saxon judges who generally preside" (Fergusson [1884] 1974: 96).

As for the proposed restoration of Bodh Gaya under the auspices of Cunningham's Survey, when asked his advice, Fergusson had responded "For heaven's sake don't!" ([1884] 1974: 78). Mitra was not the only one whose abilities Fergusson questioned. No enthusiast of Carlleyle's work, Fergusson charged that Cunningham purposely employed incompetent assistants in order to make his own work appear more valuable ([1884] 1974: 77). Fergusson advised a conservative approach -- "If buttresses or arches are necessary to maintain the fabric, build them with modern bricks, and in modern forms, so that they may not possibly be taken for ancient work. In short, do anything that may be necessary to maintain the fabric; but restore nothing, and, above all, destroy no feature, however insignificant it may appear; you cannot know of what value it may be eventually" ([1884] 1974: 78).

The restoration of monuments in India lagged slightly behind similar projects in Victorian England. The early nineteenth-century movement to revive the forms of medieval worship by restoring churches to their "original" Gothic forms had provoked counter-efforts to halt all restoration. Beginning

slowly in 1855, when the Society of Antiquaries recommended no restorations except for those arresting decomposition, by 1877 the tide had turned with the formation of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings. A member of the Royal Institute of British Architects[2] proclaimed "It is a delusion of restorers that their new work, because it is correctly medieval in style, is of any historical value" (Prince 1982: 42). John Ruskin, the foremost Victorian architectural critic, was the most influential voice against restoration. The Seven Lamps of Architecture, which had influenced Mitra's own defense of Indian architecture (Gunderson 1969: 286) stated, "It is impossible, as impossible as to raise the dead, to restore anything that has ever been great or beautiful in architecture. . . . that spirit which is given only by the hand and eye of the workman, can never be recalled. Another spirit may be given by another time, and it is then a new building. . . . There was yet in the old some life, some mysterious suggestion of what it had been, and of what it had lost; some sweetness in the gentle lines which rain and sun had wrought. There can be none in the brute hardness of the new carving" (Clark 1964: 249).

Understandably, the clamor against restoration sounded different when reverberating against the monuments of another culture. The radiating arches, along with other pieces of the Mahabodhi temple, were restored at Bodh Gaya.

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[2]Fergusson was a Fellow.

Fergusson deplored the entire project, especially modern additions such as the roof on the east porch "according to a design of [Beglar's] own, which is as unlike what the original may be supposed to have been as can well be imagined . . . [and that the] temple of Tara Devi, which certainly required no repairs, is now made 'good as new,' and as hideous as a modern restorer could desire" ([1884] 1974: 78).

He was nearly alone in his opinion, since the perspective on Indian monumental restorations were exact inversions of the sentiments propelling preservation in Britain. Instead of following Ruskin to preserve the suggestions of what had been lost, the British achievement more often was to infuse ancient sites with the British presence. For some important ancient places, it truly was a case of "another spirit, another time, and then a new building" -- the restoration of the Nirvana of Buddha site, for example. Carlleyle had found the remains of the statue of the Nirvana of Buddha ten feet below ground surface in an oblong-shaped depression. Because his restoration of the statue had been so successful he decided that protection was needed, and he set about building a structure over it. In the course of his excavations he had collected miscellaneous building pieces: bricks, pieces of pillars and arches, iron pivot door hinges; from these, with "a little gumption," he created a building with a vaulted roof (Carlleyle 1885: 21-23). Thirty years later, the Imperial

Gazetteer described Carlleyle's building as "a temple which enshrines a colossal statue of the dying Buddha" (Government of India 1908: 215).[3]

Instead of memorializing British authority by reinforcing the site, scholarly investigations sometimes completed the destruction of existing monuments, scattering pieces far and wide. One of many such demolished monuments, the famous Amaravati stupa was well on its way to disintegrating when it came to the attention of the British. It eventually was destroyed for the professed purpose of saving it; consequently, the process of its fragmentation was well documented (Knox 1992; Fergusson 1868; White 1891; Quarterly Review 1889). The saga of the Amaravati marbles -- the many phases of "careful" British and "careless" native removal of sculptures from the stupa, the ultimate fates of the pieces, the fact of the stupa's "restoration" in Paris, and the hope that pieces of Indian antiquity could "awaken" an indifferent British public -- illustrates the perception that Indian antiquities not only belonged to Britain, but more appropriately should be relocated there.

Construction of the stupa began between the fourth and second centuries B.C., and continued in various phases through the Satavahana

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[3]To be fair, the Imperial Gazetteer noted that the site's buildings did not match Chinese descriptions of Kusinagara. Eventually, the "restored" structure was recognized as belonging to a much later period, and it was removed in 1955.

dynasty in the third century A.D. From that point on, the monument began to decline in significance. When Hsuan-Tsang visited in the seventh century, there were many fewer monasteries and monks than earlier days, and the influence of Hinduism was growing in the region. A reference to the stupa recorded some repairs made nearby in 1344; nothing more was recorded about it until Colonel Mackenzie described it in 1797. By that point it had been ransacked for stones and had deteriorated into a low mound surrounded by scattered sculptures.

The modern demolition of Amaravati began with further local pillaging, the digging of a water tank, and the removal of eleven sculptures by Mackenzie in the early nineteenth century. Those went to Calcutta, and nine eventually were forwarded to London. Another set of thirty-three stones was sent to Masulipatam on the coast; they were displayed there and then acquired by a private individual for his garden. By 1845 when Sir Walter Elliot visited there was no trace left of the stupa nor any indication that any type of building had ever existed at Amaravati, all of the detritus from previous excavations having been burnt for lime.

Elliot excavated and removed seventy-nine more pieces of sculpture to Madras where they were left outside on the College green. These "Elliot marbles" were moved a few times to different locations in Madras, and

eventually cataloged along with the ones in Masulipatam. Several sculptures were lost, several more were found, and the total was 111 when they were photographed in 1858. The collection had grown by twenty pieces when it was shipped to London in 1859. Ignored and left at the docks upon their arrival, a year later the sculptures were housed in the new India Museum; two pieces were mounted on the outside walls of the building.

When James Fergusson set out to make representative casts of Indian architecture for the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1867, he was "astonished" to discover the neglected stored marbles, and undertook to photograph them and draft elevations of the rails and what he could reconstruct of the stupa itself. Several actual marbles went on display in Paris, where along with photographs they contributed to a "restoration" of the monument at the Exhibition (Fergusson [1868] 1971: iv). The marbles then went to yet another storage location, came to be mounted outside at the South Kensington India Museum, and eventually wended their way to the British Museum where they are today.

Back in India, more sculpture had been excavated by Robert Sewell who, unable to transport them to England, covered them back up again. He urged in his official report that the sculptures be removed immediately to England. The ones sent ahead earlier had been badly damaged through neglect and exposure and now were vastly inferior to those he had just excavated. Ignoring

that the damaged marbles had been in good condition until they arrived in England, the Quarterly Review seconded his plea, with a striking lack of irony:

> If the Amaravati marbles are left in India at the remote village where they now lie, they will certainly be dug up by the peasantry and 'carried away and burnt into lime,' as many of their fellows have been. . . . [Some] have been removed to Madras . . . [and] badly set up in the local museum, but many have been left at Amaravati; and are daily in danger of destruction. . . . No one will deny that it is very desirable to rescue the remaining Amaravati marbles from destruction. Experience proves that even the slabs at Madras cannot be regarded as safe from injury. Is it too much to hope that some individual possessed of the moderate funds will emulate the example of Lord Elgin, and enrich the national collection . . . [this would be] likely to awaken the interest of readers in Europe to whom Indian subjects are notoriously repulsive (1889: 185-187).

Over the misgivings of scholars, the government in 1880 ordered the site of Amaravati to be "cleared." The mound was soon transformed into a pit, some of the sculptures were lost to private collections, and what was left, nearly four hundred pieces, went to the Government Museum in Madras.

Mitra eventually wrung an admission from the archaeological community that it was reasonable to assume that stone buildings had existed before the arrival of the Greeks, even if the origins of stone "architecture" remained obscure (Mitra 1881: 43). Alexander Cunningham had never been particularly inflamed about the issue; eventually even Fergusson acquiesced ([1884] 1974: 13). In his writings about Bodh Gaya and other ancient monumental architecture, Mitra continually attempted to broaden the

discussion beyond material antiquities into discourses about aspects of domestic life at the time of monument and temple construction, generally speculating about social history in a way that was entirely new for Indian studies, and particularly for archaeology (Gunderson 1969: 251-253). Fergusson, for one, thought that Mitra's lack of "sufficient familiarity with [archaeology's] doctrines or data" dictated his unscientific and "slovenly" techniques ([1884] 1974: 61, 55), but clearly Indians asked different questions of their antiquities.

## Enhancing the Past

Alexander Cunningham retired to England in 1885 and James Burgess reluctantly succeeded him as Director General, inheriting a fatigued Survey in need of a new plan of action. Cunningham's second tenure had been deemed much less satisfactory than his first, even a failure (Quarterly Review 1889: 188). Instead of inspiring further landscape-based research, the early reconnoitering after Hsuan-Tsang had deteriorated into "unconnected tours" and volumes of reports which were "not scientific or reliable" (Burgess 1905: 141). Fergusson and Burgess returned to the earlier typological approach to ancient monuments, surveying India's cave temples much in the way Fergusson had begun his career with the rock-cut temples (Fergusson and Burgess [1880]

1969). Burgess was frustrated that Cunningham had squandered his opportunity to establish a central clearinghouse for epigraphy and architecture; native draftsmen could have been trained and the results sent on to Europe for analysis. Instead of inheriting a centralized organization, Burgess, far less interested than Cunningham in the travels of ancient monks, was left with the remnants of a disorganized Survey (Burgess 1905: 140).

As the century closed, Burgess clarified the institutional goals of the Survey; conservation was one obvious course, given the rapid growth in tourism. Ancient monuments were becoming less remote, with the interest of tourists piqued by archeological reports and the wherewithal to visit provided by a growing railway system. The "western pilgrim" was beckoned to the Buddhist sites, such as Sanchi, "still lying for the most part in the jungle and out of the beaten track of travellers, but [soon] to be rendered accessible by the Indian Midland Railway," as reported in Burgess's scholarly journal, Indian Antiquary:

> I think there are few European visitors to these ruined sites who have not longed for a glimpse of the once beautiful lake, or a sail on its broad waters on a hot day in May over the Buddhist ruins on Bhimbet, or a run up the romantic waste-weir valley, at the close of the rains, to hear the thunder of the overflow as it plunges down in broken cascades to the Betwa 100 feet below, or an early morn or sunset sail among the isles and up the lovely bays on the western shore, some of them so enclosed as to appear separate lakes, surrounded by mountains nearly 1000 feet high and clothed to the water's edge by tropical verdure. Now, right

> through the old bed of the lake the iron rail is laid; the whistle of the engine is heard over the plain, and even penetrates the distant glens; and never again can the waters lie on the bosom of the valley which they fertilized whilst beautifying. The iron horse protects it, whilst it opens the scene I have endeavoured to portray to the western pilgrim; roads and rest-houses follow its track; and the beautiful Sanchi tope, now renovated and restored by Government, the superb Gyarispur, Udayesvara, -- a veritable sculptured story, -- the romantic Pathari, and the picturesque Eran, all lie close to the new railway which will perhaps be, before the close of next year, the through route to convey all travellers to the north of India from Bombay (Kinkaid 1888: 348, 352).

A waterfall, a sunset, a stupa -- all were components of a "natural" scene. For Burgess, conservation "preserves most effectively what has come down to our times," and he was unperturbed about his responsibilities to stabilize, not restore, decay (1905: 145). The railway would protect the whole, the Archaeological Survey would maintain the monuments, and all would be frozen to the extent possible at the moment of British arrival. The Survey would do its part to enable tourists to float imaginative dreams across wild glens, although archaeologists needed to stay rational, as he stated in the Jaunpur report:

> Government has wisely forbidden the indulgence of . . . profitless speculations by the surveyors in their reports; and this volume will be found to be a plain statement of historical facts based on original sources of information relating to the places and buildings described, with careful and accurate representations of the monuments (Burgess 1889: iii).

Even with the Survey on a more scientific footing, however, it was difficult to eradicate the colonial imagination. At about the same time that Kipling was being terrorized by Chitor's antiquity, one of Burgess's deputies documented Jaunpur. An extremely unusual amalgamation of Hindu, Jain, and Muslim styles, Jaunpur was composed in part from demolished older temples, but the atmosphere betrayed no turmoil, having been scientifically tranquilized:

> If in a visit to Jaunpur there be melancholy, yet is that melancholy free from pain. You stand amid ruins, but ruins defiled by no painful memories. Not here does each building recall centuries of blood and lust and crime. From the pinnacles of the Jami Masjid you look down on the ghost of a noble city . . . . As you look down from the upper chambers into the central hall of the Jami Masjid, when, as the evening draws on, the deepening gloom and the dimmer distance make you feel as standing in a noble shrine of a more familiar faith (Führer 1889: 63).[4]

Burgess departed India in 1889; in his wake the Survey operated as five independent surveying Circles until the post of Director General was revived for John Marshall in 1902. In this interim period, conservation and cataloguing work proceeded according to the dictates of various local governments and the energies of individual surveyors. Tourists were distressed to find ancient monuments falling apart from neglect, and philistine district

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[4]Ten years later, Führer was accused of fabricating evidence regarding inscriptions and monuments, and dismissed from government service. According to his accuser, Vincent Smith, "an overactive imagination would seem to have influenced Dr. Führer's observations on many occasions" (quoted in Chakrabarti 1988: 111).

officers salvaged pieces of monuments for construction projects (Cousens 1905: 150-151); railway construction was a major consumer of old bricks and stones. With the need for adequate protection increasing each year, ruined monuments were still further disengaged from their original contexts and made part of the British domain. The reuse of Indian monuments by the British had caused "wholesale destruction" and "turned mosques and tombs into Dak bungalows, brought up scores of marble shrines to build railway bridges and covert into ballast," but all in the interests of efficiency. "The Englishman, in his utilitarian spirit, made use of these relics where they would serve his purpose rather than see them lying useless" (Cousens 1905: 154). Native destruction, however, was morally indefensible. The British vandal "has not the remotest idea or knowledge of the uses to which [buildings] were put, or of the people who raised them. But in the native of India [salvage] is inexcusable and almost inexplicable. They have hardly changed from generation to generation as we have in the West. They are the same to-day as they were ages ago. Their shrines to them should be now what they were then . . . but, whereas they were then objects to be admired as architectural triumphs, they are now nought but receptacles for their gods. The love of the beautiful is dead" (Cousens 1905: 151).

Conserving from further decay went only so far, and in the face of such dereliction, the urge to restore and improve reasserted itself with the new century. Ruskin had created a loophole when he declared that it was impossible to restore anything that had been "great or beautiful in architecture." Work that was not great or beautiful was available for rehabilitation. Moreover, as with Curzon and the Taj Mahal, it no longer was a question of whether restoration was appropriate, but whether it was possible. "[A]ll work executed before the ninth century of our era, such as the great Sanchi gateways, cave sculpture, and the very old temples with their bold and vigorous work" qualified as great and beautiful, and it remained beyond the hopes of the British to improve upon them. But after that time, "both architect and sculptor dropped into a thoroughly conventional style of stereotyped forms, which they repeated upon every occasion. Individual taste and liberty were tabooed, and it was only that, which was laid down with hard and fast rules in their architectural treatises, which was repeated and copied down through the succeeding centuries. . . . Such work is not so difficult to restore, the difficulty being rather in the restoration of general designs than detail" (Cousens 1905: 156).

By the turn of the century, Marshall, following Curzon's lead, made the conservation of monuments, and especially the officially "protected" ones, the

priority of the Survey (Marshall 1904: 11; 1923: 1). The last century's excitement over Hsuan-Tsang and the Buddhist landscape seemed quaint and faintly embarrassing; Fergusson's intense labors and extreme involvement with India's ancient architecture, eccentric and slightly bizarre:

> [A]rchaeological activities in India were originally turned into too narrow a path. They aimed primarily at research, instead of at conservation, as if oblivious of the fact that research is a work that can be taken up equally well at any period . . . whereas conservation in these quick-moving times is a duty of urgency . . . . Further, it appears that even the research work, brilliant though it was in scholarship, was begun without system and continued in a desultory manner, entirely omitting large and important parts of the country. Finally . . . after many years, opinion has at last swung round, bringing conservation uppermost (Marshall 1904: 11).

The salient aspects of the Indian landscape were clearly stated: "India is covered with the visible records of vanished dynasties, of forgotten monarchs, or persecuted and sometimes dishonoured creeds. These monuments are for the most part, though there are notable exceptions, in British territory, and on soil belonging to Government." In an effort to define this territory, Marshall proposed to issue an annual report, within which

> a plain tale will be told of the year's work, without any straining after literary effect. As now constituted, indeed, the Survey staff has no leisure for the refinements of archaeological disquisition; it is essentially an active, not a contemplative corps, and its duty will therefore be to place before European scholars material for elucidation rather than to attempt elucidation on its own account (1904: 12)

The resulting Survey moved at an "unhurried" pace, imparting "a deep sense of peace and exhilaration at the spectacle of the entire country opening up" (Chakrabarti 1988: 169).

Marshall's codification of the empirical priorities of archaeologists as field hands, the brawn behind the epigrapher's brain, was just a later stage in a development that had its roots in the very beginnings of archaeology in India. The first Survey report had drawn a distinction between "Closet or Scholastic Archaeologists" who worked primarily with inscriptions and other texts, and those whose work situated them in the actual land, outside that closet (Cunningham 1871: xviii-xix). Young Fergusson had trudged overnights through hill and jungle to examine first-hand India's ancient buildings; Cunningham knew that only long years spent in India's countryside would provide the deep knowledge necessary to connect Hsuan-Tsang's narrative with modern-day remains. The distinction resonated for a long time: "Setting aside the earlier triumphs of Sir William Jones in linguistics and philology, we may single out two names above all others in our praise of famous men: James Prinsep, whose creative work in language and numismatics was primarily indoors, and Alexander Cunningham, who though also a numismatist and

epigraphist of high distinction, was essentially a man of the open air" -- this from the ultimate open-air man himself, Mortimer Wheeler (1964: v-vi).[5]

Through the years there were constant skirmishes among the leading archaeologists regarding the relative merits of non-written facts about the past, actively extracted in the field from buildings, geography, and excavations, versus the more passive activity of reading texts, coins, and inscriptions. In the early days the categories were fluid; the practitioners were all autodidacts with wide ranges of knowledge, and were comfortable moving around in India. Fergusson could tweak Cunningham, "I fancy it a sound rule to adhere to the maxim that history must govern numismatics, and that numismatics must not be allowed to govern history" (1870b: 122), just as Cunningham could chide Fergusson for belaboring the architectural style of a building, all the while blind to an inscription on its wall. When Rajendralal Mitra insinuated himself into the controversies, however, his lack of credentials in the "open air" got him booted out of the game. His analysis of the Ajanta Caves (Mitra 1880) was discredited by Fergusson, primarily on the basis that Mitra had analyzed drawings and texts and had never visited the caves in person. This approach was deemed hopelessly old-fashioned, placing Mitra "in the exact position of

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[5]Wheeler had a life-long image as a man of "action," reinforced by many years on British television. His agent disliked the original title of his autobiography, Leaves from an Antiquary's Notebook; eventually it was restyled more vigorously as Still Digging (Hawkes 1982: 316-317).

the antiquaries of the last century, puzzling over inscriptions, or annals, or traditions; but having no knowledge of style nor any certain guide" (Fergusson 1880: 139, 142). When the Government of Bengal sent him to Bhubaneshwar to examine and take casts of ancient buildings, the moldings were termed inadequate and the report worthless because Mitra had not understood the necessity of plans and elevations (Fergusson [1884] 1974:--; Burgess 1905: 139).

Either one was preternaturally suited to "open-air" work, as Fergusson, or one was educated through years of military surveying, as Cunningham; for everyone else, the land outside the closet remained an enigmatic, privileged place. Not surprisingly, before long there was a shortage of competent archaeologists working there, a situation exacerbated by the institutional goals of Marshall's "unhurried" Survey. The disavowal of "contemplation" and analysis created a corps of object gatherers; government holdings grew as objects were located and catalogued, and the Survey regularly reported on the health of the treasure trove:

> The only acquisitions reported from Baroda are coins, mostly Muhammadan issues, while the Sardar Museum at Jodhpur has acquired by purchase a dozen gold coins of the Gupta Dynasty, and the Cabinet of the Watson Museum at Rajkot has been enriched by 191 silver Moghul coins found at Vadgam which have been presented by the Talukdars of Dasada. Mr. Longhurst reports that in addition to other antiquities 28 metal images of various Hindu Gods were acquired as Treasure Trove and added

> to the Madras Museum collection, which is very exceptional number for any one year (Marshall 1921: 32).

In 1938 the eminent archaeologist Leonard Woolley was consulted about the Archaeological Survey of India, again ailing. As the India Office press release delicately put it, "Indian members of the Survey -- its headship is now in Indian hands -- have shown themselves both eager and fit to carry on the great work of unveiling the hidden past of their Motherland. But it is appropriate that the work should be reviewed by so great an authority as Sir Leonard Woolley" (Winstone 1990: 214). Outside India, the Survey was criticized as "beset with many evils, the chief of which may be said to be conservation. Rupees are spent in driblets up and down the face of India upon the patching up of unimportant remains, and the way of the tourist is made straight at Sanchi and Taxila. . . . [while scholars] are still being fobbed off with odds and ends, without any attempt being made to put the facts on the table. It is, after all, a matter of science" (Codrington 1929: 250). In addition to the unhurried pace inherited from Marshall, the Survey was experiencing special difficulties. Marshall had enjoyed the personal support of the highest levels of the Indian government, access which his Indian successors could not hope to match. Furthermore, just as important discoveries were underway at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro, the worldwide depression forced massive cuts in the Survey budget.

Woolley was unsympathetic to these difficulties and wrote a "devastating" report about the state of the Survey (Winstone 1990: 214-216).[6] Training was a major deficiency in his view. On the whole, Woolley found ample enthusiasm and talent in the existing, Indian staff; what was lacking, he concluded, had been careful planning by John Marshall. While financial constraints were severe, more funds at this juncture "would actually do more harm than good, for the truth is that the Department is altogether lacking in men trained for the work which they have to do" (Woolley [1939] 1993: 20).

Woolley's stinging criticisms resulted from a short but intensive tour, just over three months' duration, of all the major museums and archaeological sites in all parts of India (Possehl 1993: 2). Criticism by this "outsider" (Possehl 1993: 5) seem particularly harsh in light of the genuinely intractable administrative problems of the Survey:

> Recruiting really smart, educated people for jobs as relatively poorly paid public servants was not easy, given competition from commerce and industry. Just finding people who could read and write and were willing to serve in the Survey was something of a triumph when it was done. The issue was thus a huge one and

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[6]Because of its "sensational" nature (Possehl 1993: 1), access to Woolley's 1939 report was highly restricted. Its existence was reported by the Indian and British press, but while some of the recommendations, such as that for a European Advisor, were widely disseminated, the actual report remained inaccessible and has rarely been cited directly. Fifty years later, the issues addressed in the report regarding the performance of the Survey and its future in Indian hands remain sensitive, as demonstrated in a recent critical review, to which the original report has been usefully appended (Possehl 1993).

> had to be faced-up to every day by Marshall and his senior colleagues. To some degree it still exists; but this fact should not be taken to suggest that it is something that has been ignored, today, or any time in the past. Training and qualifying people for jobs in the Archaeological Survey of India or the Pakistan Department of Archaeology is simply a huge job and not the kind of issue that will just go away because administrators decide to pay attention to it. It is too intertwined with national educational issues, competition from other agencies, both public and private and the aspirations of individuals." (Possehl 1993: 4-5)

And, one might add, with colonialism. The matrix within which issues of national education, competition, and individual aspiration were "intertwined," or more appropriately, "mired," was above all determined by the hard facts of power.

One of the recommendations of Woolley's report was that the appointment of a European advisor would halt the staggering "blind leading the blind" progress of the Survey (Woolley [1939] 1993: 45). He proposed that a quest for a hero be undertaken. A European Advisor should be appointed for a restricted term of five years. In the presence of this Advisor "the whole staff would be so trained by precept and by example as to make it capable, in a comparatively short time, of doing its own work on its own initiative." (Woolley [1939] 1993: 45). Identifying this paragon and relocating him to India would not be easy:

> Now, there are in Europe excellent Museum curators, there are highly skilled excavators and there are first-rate authorities on the

> conservation of ancient monuments, but there are very few indeed who are outstanding in all those three aspects of archaeological work. But the Adviser to the Archaeological Survey must possess other gifts in addition. He must be a capable organizer and, what is most essential and most rare, he must be a teacher; only too many men who possess knowledge and skill themselves lack the power of imparting it to others. The choice therefore is limited; but if the right man can be found to take the place he will, I believe, have in the Department a body of men ready and able to profit by his instruction, needing only that to equip them for real service to their country" (Woolley [1939] 1993: 46).

There is some debate whether the subsequent appointment of Mortimer Wheeler as the Director General of the Survey followed this script (Possehl 1993: 13). Wheeler himself certainly thought so (Wheeler 1955: 184). In any case, for the first time, the government deliberately was seeking an outsider who would stay for only a short period. Men such as Cunningham, Burgess, and Cousens had spent their entire professional lives in India and were intimately familiar with its landscape, history, and languages. Even Marshall, who came to India from work in Greece, spent twenty-two years excavating at Taxila. Wheeler, called to an India on the verge of independence as "the deus ex machina" (Hawkes 1982: 186) that would save the Survey from its torpor and train up a corps of native archaeologists, had never set foot in India. He seized upon the very thing used to exclude Mitra from the community -- a facility with open-air fieldwork -- as the basis for training his

new work force, and creating a native scholarly community, in the short time allotted him.

Woolley had suggested that "at the earliest possible opportunity the [Indian] student will be attached to an excavation . . . and will be taught the use of tools, manual labor taking precedence over any theoretical instruction; his first season ought to involve such physical drudgery that only a real enthusiast will survive it and persist" ([1939] 1993: 34). The emphasis that both Woolley and Wheeler placed on the "open air" demands of archaeological research was in consonance with the development of archaeology as a profession in the early twentieth century. Until the 1920s, a serious historian would work only with documents and never consider working as an archaeologist, except perhaps to investigate a classical temple (Hudson 1981: 128-129). Archaeology was something practiced by "lonely and eccentric figures in foreign parts" (Piggott 1977: 624). Wheeler was unusual, drawn to fieldwork early in his career, and as the profession developed between the wars he was well placed to become one of the main teachers of methods, personally training eighty percent of all British archaeologists (Hudson 1981: 128-130).

The practice of archaeology was being identified by fieldwork, and fieldwork gradually was becoming defined as excavation; excavation in turn increasingly meant freedom from reliance on textual evidence. As O.G.S.

Crawford, the other British fieldwork authority, wrote in his definitive text, "This book is entitled Archaeology in the Field, and it will in fact be concerned chiefly with open-air work. The best way of explaining my title is to show how archaeology began as the handmaid of history -- that is of books -- and how, by developing its own techniques, it has become a subject in its own right. Since those techniques all begin in the open air, it becomes evident that field archaeology is in fact nearly co-terminous with archaeology itself" (Crawford 1953: 21). Wheeler was coming to an Indian archaeology impatient with the tedious task of finding connections among different data sets. The treatment of above-ground monuments had already been simplified -- to those properly trained, "the very ruins themselves declare what they are" (Cousens 1905: 150) -- and now the same could soon be true for excavated antiquities. An editorial in Antiquity extolled Wheeler's appointment: the British had much to answer for in India, needed to "start afresh" by finally giving Indians the "tools" to "extract" their past (Antiquity 1946: 2). Indians would "finally get out into the open air and work on their past at first hand by the methods of modern field archeology. We did not recover what we know of pre-Roman civilization in Britain by addling our brains over the scraps of information in the classical authors or the Irish legends -- we went out and dug it up" (Piggott 1946: 51).

In an important essay, "What Are We Digging Up, and Why?" Wheeler explained the basic incompatibility of textual and excavated evidence, due entirely to the need of a rapidly growing profession to specialize:

> Archaeology suffered from a linguistic preoccupation . . . liable to obscure more material and equally valuable aspects. For it would appear to be a truism that the preoccupying study of language is rarely in practice compatible in one and the same individual with the scientific, analytic study of phenomena as they present themselves in the earth. The linguist is, in my experience, a different sort of man from the excavator. . . . He is liable to be Little Johnnie Head-in-Air, and we all know what happened to him when he came to a hole in the ground. . . . [the result has been] a particular class of humanists, who have tempered their linguistic and historical training with art-criticism but have rarely got down to earth and studied the stuff of which their chosen civilizations are composed (Wheeler 1954: 210; original emphasis).

When Wheeler set about teaching archaeology, then, he was teaching excavation. Given his lack of knowledge about Indian historical sequences, he not surprisingly found the Roman presence in India an intriguing problem; it would, incidentally, provide an outside datum against which to measure internal Indian chronologies. As a bonus, an independent India would be left with its very own identity as part of the Roman empire. One group of students experienced this first-hand in their open-air right of passage at Arikamedu, one of Wheeler's teaching-excavations:

> There may have been forty of them, all told, in the thatched hut, swarthy, volatile, speaking a variety of natal languages -- Tamil, Telegu, Malayalam, Hindi, Urdu -- but all recurring constantly to

> the only tongue common to us all. The impending operation was set before them. They were to be the pioneers of protohistoric archaeology in South India. . . . they were about to find the wine-jars and table-wares brought thither from the Mediterranean in the first century A.D. . . . Nor was that all. Beside these wine-jars and table-wares they would find Indian things, an Indian culture, even an Indian civilization, which would share the known date of the imports and thus form a firm base for the systematization of South Indian archaeology. . . . Only, they must not expect immediate success. They would have to work for it. They might have to work for a fortnight before the first hint of success came their way.
>
> I have never ceased to congratulate myself upon the inspiration of that last warning. We started badly, in an area which had been wrecked by brick-robbers from top to bottom. Spirits fell, and only the blessed word "fortnight" staved off the utter despair which comes all too easily to the tropical mentality. It was in fact on the afternoon of the twelfth day that one of my students emerged from the waterlogged depths, covered with slime but waving exultantly the base of a red dish . . . The Yavanas had been found, and the situation was saved (Wheeler 1955: 201-202, original emphasis).

Looming independence also created the ideal opportunity for rehabilitating a still earlier empire. The conquering explorations of the ancient Greeks had inspired Cunningham's first scientific exploration, while simultaneously distressing Rajendralala Mitra. Alexander the Great is a hero each generation reads differently; his transformation by the historian William Tarn in the 1920s from a great conqueror to a great unifier well suited the world of the League of Nations and appropriately reflected the British presence in the modern world (Green 1991: 483-484). Wheeler was uniquely situated to play out this rehabilitation. He returned to the great city in northwest India

where "more than twenty-three centuries ago the rulers of west and east had forgathered in friendly and intelligent interchange. All that was now required by us in 1944 was the final urge for renewed cooperation in a modern context" (Wheeler 1976: 32), and so he hauled all his students up to Taxila for his official field school.

Woolley had been ridiculed by "desk-bound" colleagues (Winstone 1990: 219). In spite of the value he placed on research in the open air, Wheeler himself was sensitive to the implications of a "potsherd reputation" (Hawkes 1982: 260), and perhaps later had misgivings about concentrating his efforts in India on technique at the expense of a wider focus. Max Mallowan had complained that the risk of "technical" archaeology was finding everything, and finding nothing. In much the same vein Wheeler expressed dismay at the next generation of archaeologists, notably less allied to the humanities, and wholly lacking the "comprehending imagination which inspires the painter or the poet" (1950: 129). Having spent part of 1949 and 1950 commuting to Pakistan to excavate and set up the National Museum (Wheeler 1955: 219-220), Wheeler sounded close to giving up on "mere catalogers":

> I listen to myself with a somewhat pained surprise. Throughout my life I have done my little best to emphasize the technical needs of archaeology. I even went so far as to found an Institute where these needs could in some measure be supplied. Perhaps

> again it is a symptom of old age that, having tried to spur the horse to a gallop, I am now hanging on to the reins to prevent it from running away (Wheeler 1950: 129).

Such moments, however, were rare. Wheeler well understood the expressive power of landscape imagery, and frequently used it to orient himself. In Wheeler's comprehending imagination, the archaeologist was in the landscape, graphically moving through space and time in a way impossible for epigraphers and historians. "I was standing not long ago 5,000 miles away from here," runs a typical passage, "in the steppe of Turkestan, upon a tumult of mighty mounds whither age after age came men from China, from the Mediterranean, from Ind, to exchange their goods and fertilize their ideas, to express the ancient world socially and aesthetically in the most complex polity then known to man" (Wheeler 1954: 211). In spite of misgivings about teaching archaeological method in an imaginative vacuum, Wheeler knew that with independence fast approaching, the most efficient way to pull Indian and Pakistani archaeology out of the colonial "closet" was by putting it in the hands of "young men having a knowledge of history, a pride in their countryside, and a proper feeling for the open air" (Wheeler 1947: 1).

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

# LANDSCAPES OF INDIA AND THE IDEOLOGY OF ANTIQUITY

VOLUME TWO

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO

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## Chapter 5

## THE GENIUS OF THE PLACE

If Wheeler used landscape to rally himself and his troops, he further employed it to articulate new realities for the scholars he left in the open air of a partitioned subcontinent. His final editorial comments in the periodical Ancient India included the blunt facts of restricted access and altered world views for the next generation of archaeologists:

> If we now impose the new boundaries upon the archaeological map, the picture is an interesting one. Pakistan is found to include almost the whole of the known extent of the earliest civilization of India, that of the Indus Valley. It includes also Gandhara and the homeland, therefore, of a phase of art which spread its influence as far south as remote Amaravati; and, with Gandhara, Charsada, once Gandhara's metropolis and now one of the unexplored key-sites of Asia; likewise Taxila, Gandhara's provincial capital, ancient meeting-place of east and west; and a host of Buddhist stupas and monasteries, of which Takht-i-Bahi and the neighbouring Sahri-Bahlol are merely notable examples. Pakistan has no reason to complain of its archaeology: except in one anomalous respect. Almost all the Mohammadan monuments of the first importance remain in India.
>
> . . . . In the past, Indian archaeology has concentrated its major efforts upon the north-western region, upon what is now Pakistan. . . . The North-West was paramount.

> Now all this is changed. Mohenjo-daro, Harappa, Taxila alike have gone from India. The outlook is re-adjusted and new problems come into focus. . . . Let us now turn to the valley of the Ganges and devote to it something of the attention which in the past has been lavished so fruitfully upon the valley of the Indus (Wheeler 1947-48: 1-2).

In a sense, although the empire was expiring, Wheeler was still operating within the eighteenth-century conceptual project that was landscape. Tourists and picturesque travelers in Britain had not been, "like the majority of the rural population, irrevocably involved, so to speak, bound up in, any particular locality which they had no time, no money, and no reason ever to leave. . . . [T]hey were accustomed to the notion of mobility, and could easily imagine other landscapes" (Barrell 1972: 63). The explorers and documenters of India in the early, "free-floating" period from 1760 to 1830, did the same -- they moved around, experiencing, comparing, and judging. Wheeler's brisk inventory of the respective landscapes of India and Pakistan recalled eighteenth-century men who actively explored, but also actively "looked over" landscapes. The eighteenth-century sight of a landscape was often a "general one: an impression of the order of its own progress over the objects in the landscape, rather than of those objects themselves. . . . [T]his exploration the eye makes is active: it is able to move at such speed over the landscape, only because it can organise so efficiently the objects in its path into a preconceived structure, which allows them an identity only as landmarks on the journey the

eye makes to the horizon" (Barrell 1972: 22). Wheeler's horizon remained different from the one viewed by his students; unlike them, he was free to move around in both India and Pakistan.

As "an instrument of cultural power" (Mitchell 1994a: 1-2), landscape served the purposes of empire, even when the task was laying out a diminished picture at Partition. In this sense, it was related to the objectifying and controlling process of "framing" observed in colonial Egypt (Mitchell 1988) and modernizing Indonesia (Errington 1993: 56). But landscape in India was, and remains, a larger and less deliberate process than "framing." Framing introduces a "hierarchy of truth" (Mitchell 1988: 60), the frame providing a structure between the observer/colonist and the picture/colony. The world is then "read" within the confines of this structure (Mitchell 1988: 33; 60). Although the process of landscape sometimes confines elements in the manner of a frame, as with depictions of Indian villages or with Wheeler's archaeological inventory, it is on the whole a more capacious and fluid concept. The longevity of certain images of ancient India indicates that it is the very flexibility of visual and metaphorical boundaries in landscape that make it so robust as an organizing principle. One can stand outside and "view" a landscape, or enter into it and "experience" it.

Representations of landscape are "not only a matter of internal politics and national or class ideology but also an international, global phenomenon, intimately bound up with the discourses of imperialism" (Mitchell 1994b: 9). The world looks at some aspects of Indian antiquity unchanged from the eighteenth century because that format continues to serve the modern imperium of Euro-American culture. Equally suited for colonial and nationalist purposes, the landscape of ancient India has also proved infinitely adaptable for the purpose of generating wealth -- in tourism, Hollywood films, and Disney theme parks.

**Subjugated Knowledges**

The ways that landscape orders the world is "something like ideology: it naturalizes a cultural and social construction, representing an artificial world as if it were simply given and inevitable" (Mitchell 1994a: 2). The two landscape exaggerations I have outlined -- the colossal and the miniaturized -- have both resulted from the "naturalizing" processes of the colonial enterprise. The ultimate objective of naturalization, in both landscapes, has been "control." Monuments and the public spaces of antiquity are controlled by claiming them, through restoration and maintenance, and eventually, interpretation. Villages are also controlled through maintenance and interpretation. Urban

elites and villagers are both aware that World Bank and similar rural development projects hope to prevent or reverse migration to the cities. As one village-resident told a journalist, "Their [the World Bank's] objective is to keep us here. But everyone wants to go out" (Coll 1994: 61). Just as certain monuments, such as the Somnath temple discussed below, are continually remade for use in the present, so the present-day village landscape appears to be destabilizing and reforming:

> [T]he imagination of the village in creative Indians and their Indian audience is collapsing. By imagination I mean creative imagination -- the kind that invokes the fantasy of the 'archetypal,' 'remembered' but also living Indian village in those staying in villages and others having little or no obvious connection with it. . . .
>
> . . . . Our vision of India, our computations of the nature of the inputs we shall have to make to actualise that vision, our concept of the strategies of changing Indian society include many worthwhile elements, but no longer the imagination of a village. The village for us now is primarily a place where strange people live, where sati and untouchability are practised, where Hindu-Muslim riots have been taking place for centuries, where unless civilised people like us intervene, the inhabitants will continue to pursue the sports of homicide and robbery (Nandy 1995-96: 146, 152).

That "control" imbues both old and remade landscapes of colossal antiquity and miniaturized village life suggests the existence of what Foucault terms "subjugated knowledges. . . blocs of historical contents that have been buried and disguised in a functionalist coherence or formal systemisation" (1980: 81). These knowledges are of two types, both scholarly and low-ranking,

"naive" (Foucault 1980: 82) In both cases, specific, historical contents are suppressed because they are "concerned with a historical knowledge of struggles. . . . the memory of hostile encounters which even up to this day have been confined to the margins of knowledge" (Foucault 1980: 83). The exaggerations I perceive in India's ancient landscape, I argue, mark just such areas of "struggle," landscapes where the all-powerful viewer -- colonist, nationalist, or tourist -- attempts to determine the viewpoint, pushing complexity, inconsistency, and contradiction, both scholarly and "naive," out of sight.

The "colossal" landscape of India is the one with which most archaeologists are concerned. It largely comprises monuments and ancient cityscapes -- public spaces that can be resocialized to new purposes in the present. It is through this process of resocialization that "struggles" erupt at these exaggerated landscapes. Archaeology often is implicated, either as an instrument of the resocialization that was colonial appropriation, or later as the" knowledge" that is subjugated.[1] Two spectacular monuments in the

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[1]Or as the custodian maintaining watch on the remade space. Leonard Woolley's 1938 report addressed at length the budget problems caused by the obligation to maintain the "garden" settings of archaeological monuments, and the desire to devote the resources of the Survey "to purposes more strictly germane to it" (Woolley [1939] 1993: 52). Maintenance of gardens continues to be a function of the Survey, surely related to the eighteenth-century preoccupation with gardens as venues for contemplation and symbolic world-ordering.

peninsula of Saurashtra in Gujarat illustrate this -- the Ashokan rock edicts in Junagadh and the Somnath temple, both locales of conflict over the meaning of antiquity in the landscape.

The archaeologist James Burgess toured Saurashtra in 1868 and, like Fergusson before him, had trouble reconnoitering India with a copy of Tod's Travels in Western India in hand. Tod's directions were "frequently inaccurate in details, and the notes of personal observation . . . padded with long legends and fanciful theories, carefully framed to account for what often had no existence except in the author's mistaken imagination" (Burgess [1869] 1976: 4). The antiquity was not nearly as impressive as he had been led to hope. "Near the temples, I was taken to see the image of Madhu Rai, mentioned by Tod; but instead of anything imposing, I found two small images of male and female on slabs, apparently taken from some old temple, set into a small pit or well which alone forms there shrine" ([1869] 1976: 14). Surrounded by antiquity on his tour, Burgess seemed most moved by the tomb of an English infant ([1869] 1976: 55). The entire Indian scene, natural and manmade, was significantly reduced; mirages were practically run-of-the-mill, their projections "perfectly real-like" ([1869] 1976: 9, 56), not the elusive and magnifying refractions that had thrilled Tod.

Competition for "permanence" was heating up between Britain and India, and Burgess, the future Director of the Archaeological Survey, was in fine form when he reached the Ashokan edicts in Junagadh and encountered his opponent:

> The huge rounded conical stone that bears this long inscription is 18 or 20 feet high and about 23 yards in circumference. But how is it cared for now? Anywhere in Europe it would be under lock and key for fear of the slightest damage: but India does not know the value of her antiquities. A house recently built beside it is occupied by some sanctimonious lazy devotee, whose firewood lay partly against the sides of it, whilst the fragments of broken gharas were thrown on the top of it, where also the inscription has been defaced. Surely a veritable document of the mature age of full twenty-one centuries is worthy of some safeguard, without which we may hear some day that notches have been cut in the face of it to form an easy passage for the yogi round his house ([1869] 1976: 34).

Once absorbed into the colossal landscape, the Ashokan rock edicts remained free of conflict; it is the site of Somnath which has a lengthy history of contention. The temple has long been believed to have been desecrated by Muslims any number of times; the story told, with vague details and varying personages always includes "intrepid Hindus [who] reconsecrated it" (Davis 1997: 187). Somnath had a role in another conflict when in 1842 a plan was launched to restore the temple's gates, reported to have been carried off by Mahmud as trophies of war. The reappropriation of the gates was planned by the Earl of Ellenborough as a cover story for recalling British troops from their

defeat in Afghanistan; the army would pass through Ghazna, take the gates and return with them in triumph through northwest India (Davis 1997: 201). This action would, he believed, generate good will among the people of India towards Britain; the progress of the gates to Saurashtra was intended to "rearticulate the boundaries of 'British India,' and demonstrate British concern for the well-being of its Indian subjects within those borders" (Davis 1997: 201-202). However, since academic orientalism had supplanted the "free-floating" version of an earlier time (Said 1978: 119), the gates were quickly recognized by art historians as not originating from Somnath, and were abandoned in Agra (Davis 1997: 207-209). In the end, the episode marked "the last British attempt to gain legitimacy within existing Indian systems of authority by interacting with Hindu deities in their temples" (Davis 1997: 203).

Over time, other struggles ensued at Somanth. The temple was the site of one of the first disputes over conservation and reconstruction in independent India. The restoration of the temple after Independence, spearheaded by K.M. Munshi, was a multi-leveled symbolic process, reshaping the ancient Indian landscape for use by a modern India (Davis 1997: 209-221). Under Curzon, Somnath had been designated an "ancient monument," and Indian archaeologists who protested the leveling of the old temple remains

in the course of the "restoration" were accused of sustaining an outmoded, colonial attitude (van der Veer 1992: 91).

The new temple at Somnath was dedicated in 1951, and the site continues to experience conflict by its direct links with the Ayodhya/Babri Masjid controversy. The earlier, repeated desecrations recounted about Somnath lent weight to the belief that Barbur desecrated a temple at Ayodhya to build his mosque. The Bharatiya Janata Party ("BJP") explicitly characterizes its movement to remove the Babri Masjid and build a temple at Ayodhya as a "continuation of the spirit of Somanatha" (BJP, quoted in Davis 1997: 221). The procession of Rama's chariot in 1990 organized by the BJP began its month-long, meandering course at Somnath and ended in Ayodhya. the better to link the two events in the Indian imagination (Davis 1996: 28, 44).

Public spaces are appropriated in ways very different from movable objects in that they must be resocialized, "framed," in place (Errington 1993: 33). But when landscape is the instrument of cultural power, when it is the "process by which social and subjective identities are formed" (Mitchell 1994a: 1-2), the power to appropriate broadens. Since identities are being formed in the landscape, objects found there will be wielded to similar ends.

This might help explain the persistence of the "archaeological culture" concept in India. The practice of categorizing associated groups of material objects as "cultures" is frequently assessed and found wanting, especially in Indian prehistory (e.g., Possehl 1986: 2-3). Yet the practice continues; out of larger contexts, change in pottery types appears almost as natural history. "One frequently reads of a 'Painted Grey ware period' and of 'Painted Grey ware people' as though they were entirely different from the 'Late Harappans' who occupied many of the same settlements during the preceding period, when often all that the evidence suggests is that a new fashion in pottery was growing in popularity" (Allchin and Allchin 1982: 317). Historical archaeology is not untouched by the archaeological culture concept. Indeed, "a great deal of labour has been expended on finding the material equivalents of ethnic groups, and even of specific events recorded in literature, at the cost of neglecting processual issues" (Erdosy 1988: 7). Guided by the same impulses [discussed in Chpater 2] that tidied up ruins until they were "dead -- empty, swept" (Kipling and Balestier 1892: 189), archaeological cultures efface cultural complexities and inconsistencies, and categorize the culture out of the artifact:

> Within the Iron Age the earliest period is named after its most conspicuous ceramic, Painted Gray Ware, which gives way to an equally striking pottery, Northern Black Polished Ware, around 500 BC, heralding the advent of yet another culture. At this

> point historical information enters the stage and the subsequent cultural periods are tagged with dynastic terms -- Maurya, Sunga, Kushan, Gupta, etc. The fact that NBP Ware overlaps with Painted Gray Ware on the one hand, and is present in the Maurya and Sunga periods on the other perhaps best demonstrates the confusion surrounding this periodisation -- the accepted framework not only fails to explain cultural change, being essentially descriptive, but is also of dubious chronological value, due to the overlapping of even some of its most distinctive traits (Erdosy 1983: 510).

Is archaeological knowledge hopelessly neutralized by the ideology of landscape? Only "insofar as archaeology has been entrusted with -- one might say set up for the purpose of" answering profound questions (Leone 1975: 195). The questions that archaeology often addresses are profound because they are "obvious," in the originating culture and require no examination (Leone 1975: 195-196). It was "obvious" to Cunningham to trace the course of Buddhist monks, and "obvious" to Wheeler that he should investigate the Roman presence in India.

The focus on the seemingly "obvious" conceals larger desires and motives, and in the present day also fashions archaeology as the type of "naive" knowledge that also is subjugated, or "disqualified" (Foucault 1980: 82). The categorization of material "cultures" and the "practical" emphasis on the open-air nature of fieldwork contribute to the disqualification of archaeology as an authoritative source in discussions of Indian history.

When archaeology shifts its focus from "obvious," colossal issues, it achieves the "emergence of historical contents" that produces effective criticism (Foucault 1980: 81). One recent, small "struggle" that reoriented the landscape of Saurashtra illustrates this. Related to the competition for identity and "permanence" in Saurashtra, it appropriately concerns an object that embodies simultaneously the most arcane and "naive" of archaeological knowledges: pottery.

**Red Polished Ware: Too Beautiful to be Indian?**

Monuments and temples provide ideal, actual venues for contesting identities, and objects found in the landscape can be manipulated similarly. Rajendralal Mitra's protestations about the Indian knowledge of the true arch at Bodh Gaya still echo faintly in wranglings over the nature of a very beautiful artifact from Saurashtra, the pottery known as Red Polished Ware.

The most striking ware in the ceramic chronology of historic Saurashtra, Red Polished Ware ("RPW") is made of a finely levigated clay, evenly fired with a high polish; the colors range from dark brown to pink. RPW has been documented in a number of excavations in Saurashtra in strata from the first century B.C. to the fifth century A.D. The production of RPW most likely centered on Saurashtra (Orton 1991: 46). The ware is found at many sites in

the Indian interior, but the quantity and quality declines at sites distant from Gujarat (Subbarao 1953: 58). The site of Amreli in central Saurashtra contains the largest variety of vessel shapes and colors yet collected, and its excavation closely dated the ware in association with coins and inscriptions. Amreli is, therefore, something of a "type site" for this ware.

When it was first examined, RPW was readily recognized as having affinities with Roman "Samian" ware but, based on vessel shapes, it was also early perceived to be a ceramic produced in India (Subbarao 1953: 32). Mortimer Wheeler looked at RPW sherds from Somnath and believed them to be Roman; Codrington examined sherds from Baroda and thought similarly (Rao 1966: 56). Sankalia's Maheshwar and Navdatoli excavation report weighed in that, "as a result of the extensive commercial contact with the Mediterranean region, the technique of the Roman Samian wares was successfully copied in Western India -- Saurashtra in particular. . . . Though most of these forms are Indian, their chronology, luxurious character, limited distribution and comparatively poor quality of the other local wares" argued for their Roman inspiration (Subbarao 1958: 161).

In his 1966 excavation report, S.R. Rao laid out the possibilities for the identity -- Roman or Indian? -- of RPW: (a) if RPW was imported, it should be identical to foreign wares such as Samian; (b) if it was produced "in local

factories under Roman influence," it should bear at least a close resemblance to Roman wares; and failing these tests, it (c) "is an indigenous ware" (Rao 1966: 55). On the basis of his excavation in 1952-53, Rao countered arguments in favor of Roman origin or influence: the types of RPW are not identical to Roman wares; imported wares would more likely be found in smaller quantities and more restricted distributions than RPW; and at most RPW sites no Roman antiquities are found in association with the ware (Rao 1966: 55-57). Indeed, he remonstrated with Sankalia, "[t]he mere fact that the Red Polished Ware is found in a smaller quantity than, and is superior in quality to, other indigenous wares need not imply that the former came from foreign factories" (Rao 1966: 58). Rao further documented the existence of a "black polished ware," identical to RPW and immediately preceding it, which should have laid to rest the questions about the genealogy of RPW (Rao 1966; 52) . Even after the Amreli report, however, the Roman character issue remained alive, if not vigorous, well into the 1990s. One of the major conclusions drawn in a recent review of nearly 400 RPW sites in Gujarat is that the wide stylistic variance, large number of sites, and overwhelmingly "Indian" vessel forms indicate no direct lines of influence from Rome (Orton 1991: 46-47).

In light of my arguments regarding the colonial appropriation of Indian antiquity, and Mortimer Wheeler's particular passion for Rome, I was

intrigued by the possibilities opened up by this "resocialized" element of Indian antiquity.

**The Amreli Survey**

Archaeologists often find themselves in the "open air" of one of the two exaggerated landscapes -- either the magnified world of public architecture and dramatic monuments or the minimized landscapes of unchanging rural domesticity. As I have discussed in previous chapters, elements from the first landscape are often disengaged from their contexts in the past and resocialized for use in the present, just as elements of the second landscape are persistently prized for seemingly ancient resistance to events in the larger world. Inden's characterization of this situation as simultaneous and parallel levels of "meaningless change in Indian civilization . . . [and] changeless meaning" (Inden 1990: 159), suggests a direction for resurrecting subjugated knowledges: namely, occurrences of change. In Saurashtra, RPW provides just such an occurrence. It disappears from the archaeological record at a documented point of change in state power, the decline of the Gupta empire in the late fifth century A.D. and the subsequent rise of local kingdoms. As an object, the analysis of RPW represents both a learned scholarship and a naive knowledge of its "humble," localized creation in India. It provides an opportunity to

consider a "change" in the world of statecraft from the perspective of rural communities.

Over time, many RPW sites have been identified in Saurashtra, especially in surveys conducted by state archaeological officers after Independence (Orton 1991: 46). The survey practice in Gujarat is the "village-to-village" method known in many parts of the world. Survey teams canvass villages in a given area and record archaeological remains per the survey "unit" of the village. The practice generally is not to list any given site by geocoordinates, but rather to register it by noting the village limits within which it is found. Surveying in almost any other fashion would be particularly difficult in Gujarat State. A lengthy coastline and a shared border with Pakistan make it a politically sensitive area, and access to topographical maps is highly restricted.

In his survey of the Ghelo and Kalubhar river valleys in Bhavnagar District in eastern Saurashtra, Possehl divided historic sites into two periods: "RPW," which might be thought of as an "early historic" marked by the presence of RPW, and a "Late Historic" (Possehl 1980: 131-253).[2] Based on surface collections, he reports 23 sites with RPW components and 17 sites for

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[2]As described above, RPW is firmly identified with the period from the first century to the fifth century A.D. The "Late Historic" is less well defined as a specific period. I am following Bhan's (1986) identification of an historic "period III," which begins at the end of the RPW period and continues until the 10th century A.D.

the subsequent, Late Historic, period; only 6 sites show continuity from one period to the next.[3] Kuldeep Bhan reported a similar shift in settlement in his survey of Jamnagar District on the western side of Saurashtra (Bhan 1983).

On the basis of these two surveys, RPW appeared promising as an index of changes through settlements in this part of India. Given that Possehl and Bhan had surveyed their respective sides of Saurashtra, and the location of Amreli roughly between the two, Amreli District was a logical place to survey (figure 1). Collated with information from the other two surveys, it was hoped that differences and similarities in the settlement shift from the RPW to the Late Historic periods could be outlined.

I undertook to survey approximately 1,372 square kilometers in four talukas of Amreli District using the customary village-to-village method, with one critical revision. Although villages provide useful indices for cataloguing archaeological remains, their locations are of little use in plotting relationships among archaeological sites; the locations of the sites themselves were needed. The usual accoutrements of archaeological survey mapping would have caused considerable alarm in Saurashtra, especially when wielded by a lone and

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[3]For the present purposes, I made one change to the Bhavnagar site data: I have included Vala (Possehl 1980: 246-247) as a Late Historic site in table 5. Possehl's collections document the site occupation during the RPW period, but not the later period. The peninsular capital of Valabhipur is generally believed to have existed in this place, though very little physical evidence of its tenure remains (Mehta 1964).

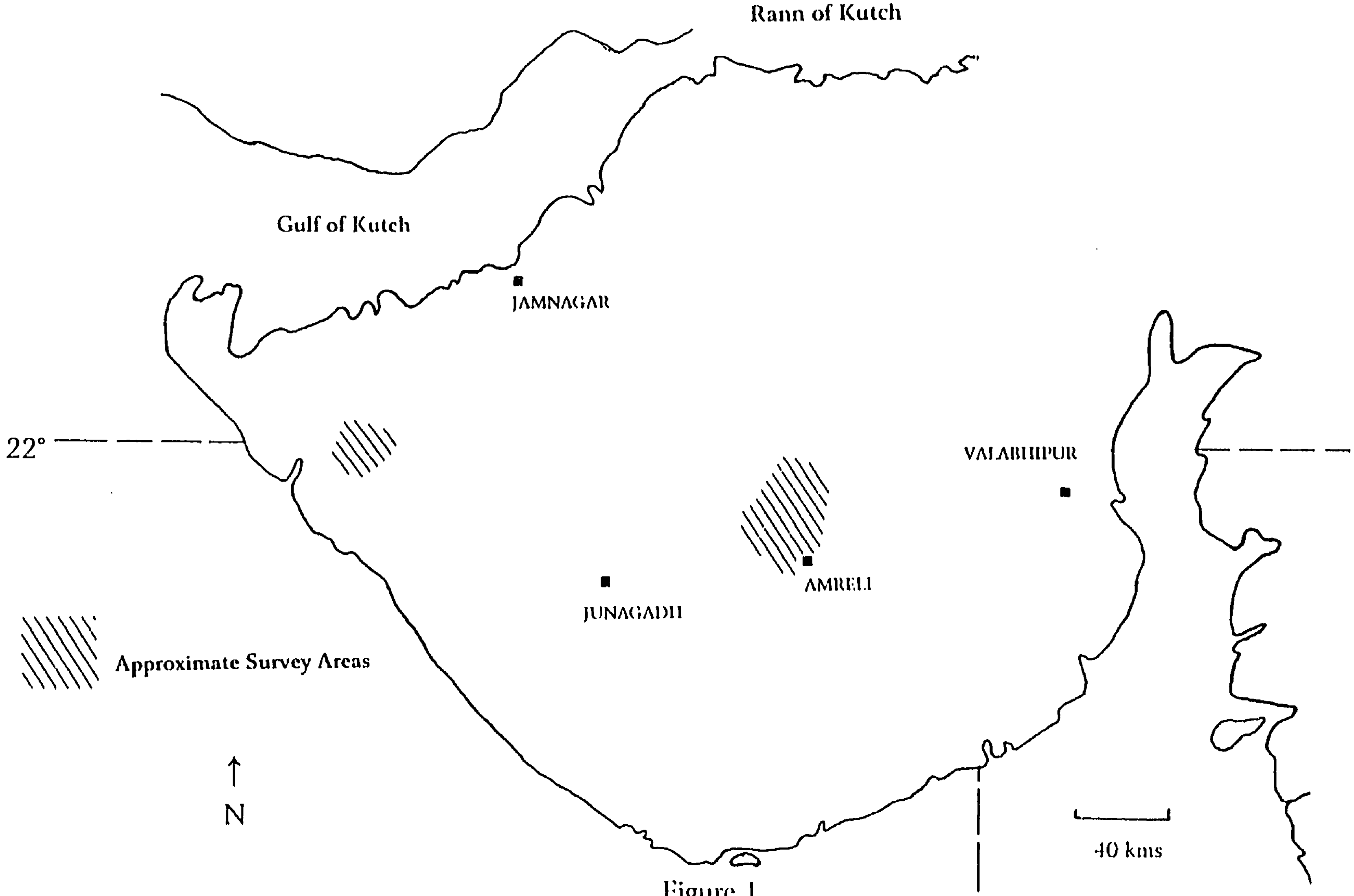



Figure 1
Map of Saurashtra

already conspicuous foreigner. I thus spent a great deal of time correlating various sets of maps available to me. Since the census maps of Gujarat make excellent road maps, I was easily able to reach villages and understand their relative locations. In each village, elderly residents and/or headmen were queried about the existence of archaeological remains. Upon locating sites, I collected pottery in two perpendicular transects across the site (removing only diagnostic sherds) and took compass and distance readings from the site to the village.[4] Villages with historic period sites are listed in table 1. I later plotted the coordinates of the archaeological sites themselves within their village environs (table 2 ).

Surface collections were analyzed using the published reports of historic sites in Saurashtra and the collections of M.S. University of Baroda. In describing the Amreli sites, I followed Possehl's identification of RPW and Late Historic sites (1980: 131-253). Site distributions for the RPW period are shown in figure 2 and those for the Late Historic in figure 3.

As was expected from analyzing the surveys by Possehl and Bhan, a marked shift in the number of settlements was observed to occur between the two periods in Amreli. Occupation at 21 of the 31 RPW sites, or 68%, did

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[4]The terrain of Amreli is fortunately rather flat and the villages spaced quite close together. I found no sites out of visual range of at least one village; often I was within sight of more than one village and thus could take multiple readings.

## TABLE 1
## Red Polished Ware and Late Historic Sites
## Amreli District Survey

### LATHI Taluka

| Village Name | Site Name | Period of Occupation |
|---|---|---|
| Bhingrad | Neshlo Timbo | LH |
| Toda | Babaria Dhoro | RPW/LH |
| Keriya | Bhahuro Dhoro | RPW |
| Shekh Pipariya | Narsitpur Dhoro | RPW/LH |
| Adtala | Boriya | RPW |
| Rampar | [none] | RPW/LH |
| Karkoliya | Gohil no Dhoro | RPW |
| Chavand | Garani | RPW |

### KUNKVAV Taluka

| Village Name | Site Name | Period of Occupation |
|---|---|---|
| Lunidhar | Rupavati no Dhoro | RPW/LH |

(continued)

**TABLE 1**
**Red Polished Ware and Late Historic Sites**
**Amreli District Survey**
**(continued)**

**BABRA Taluka**

| Village Name | Site Name | Period of Occupation |
|---|---|---|
| Valardi | Bhimpura Dhoro | RPW |
| Bhildi | Hanuman no Dhoro | RPW/LH |
| Galkotdi | Shipto no Dhoro | RPW/LH |
| Charkha | [none] | RPW |
| Ishvariya | [none] | RPW |
| Untvad | Phir no Dhoro | RPW |
| Kotda Pitha | Babariya no Dhoro | RPW/LH |
| Sukvada | Mahadevia no Dhoro | RPW/LH |
| Barvala | Belan no Dhoro | LH |
| Barvala | Nehur no Dhoro (I) | RPW |
| Barvala | Nehur no Dhoro (II) | RPW |
| Dharai | Bodio no Dhoro | RPW |

(continued)

**TABLE 1**
**Red Polished Ware and Late Historic Sites**
**Amreli District Survey**
**(continued)**

**AMRELI Taluka**

| Village Name | Site Name | Period of Occupation |
|---|---|---|
| Suragpur | Sati no Dhoro | RPW |
| Khijadiya Radadiya | Bhutra no Dhoro | LH |
| Machiyala Nana | Bhimanath | RPW |
| Machiyala Mota | Machiyala no Dhoro | RPW/LH |
| Amarpur | Juno Dhoro | LH |
| Bhandariya Nana | Vavadi no Dhoro | RPW |
| Randhiya | [none] | RPW |
| Timba | [none] | RPW |
| Monpur | [none] | RPW |
| Gavadka | [none] | RPW |
| Ankadiya Mota | Mathukia no Dhoro | RPW |
| Kathma | Keriya no Dhoro | RPW/LH |
| Veniavadar | Kahrabo no Dhoro | RPW |

# TABLE 2
## Historic Periods / Coordinates
## Amreli District Survey Sites

Red Polished Ware Sites (n=31)

| VILLAGE NAME | ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE COORDINATES | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Longitude | | | Latitude | | |
| Toda | 71° | 20' | 30" | 21° | 41' | 30" |
| Keriya | 71 | 21 | 15 | 21 | 44 | 15 |
| Shekh Pipariya | 71 | 20 | 30 | 21 | 46 | 7.5 |
| Adtala | 71 | 18 | 22.5 | 21 | 43 | 00 |
| Suragpur | 71 | 19 | 15 | 21 | 40 | 37.5 |
| Machiyala Nana | 71 | 13 | 52.5 | 21 | 39 | 22.5 |
| Machiyala Mota | 71 | 14 | 22.5 | 21 | 40 | 30 |
| Bhandariya Nana | 71 | 9 | 15 | 21 | 35 | 45 |
| Randhiya | 71 | 9 | 00 | 21 | 42 | 52.5 |
| Timba | 71 | 13 | 7.5 | 21 | 42 | 22.5 |
| Valardi | 71 | 14 | 00 | 21 | 47 | 45 |
| Bhildi | 71 | 13 | 30 | 21 | 45 | 30 |
| Galkotdi | 71 | 20 | 00 | 21 | 49 | 7.5 |
| Charkha | 71 | 14 | 30 | 21 | 53 | 45 |
| Ishvariya | 71 | 22 | 7.5 | 21 | 54 | 45 |
| Monpur | 71 | 12 | 00 | 21 | 45 | 30 |
| Rampar | 71 | 27 | 00 | 21 | 44 | 00 |
| Karkoliya | 71 | 24 | 45 | 21 | 46 | 15 |
| Gavadka | 71 | 11 | 00 | 21 | 32 | 37.5 |
| Untvad | 71 | 13 | 15 | 21 | 55 | 30 |
| Kotda Pitha | 71 | 11 | 15 | 21 | 56 | 30 |
| Sukvada | 71 | 18 | 00 | 21 | 56 | 15 |
| Ankadiya Mota | 71 | 5 | 45 | 21 | 38 | 00 |
| Kathma | 71 | 7 | 00 | 21 | 40 | 45 |
| Lunidhar | 71 | 6 | 22.5 | 21 | 42 | 22.5 |
| Barvala | 71 | 24 | 00 | 21 | 51 | 30 |
| Barvala | 71 | 24 | 7.5 | 21 | 52 | 22.5 |
| Dharai | 71 | 7 | 45 | 21 | 49 | 7.5 |
| Veniavadar | 71 | 9 | 45 | 21 | 38 | 37.5 |
| Chavand | 71 | 22 | 15 | 21 | 47 | 45 |
| Amreli | 71 | 12 | 45 | 21 | 36 | 7.5 |

(continued)

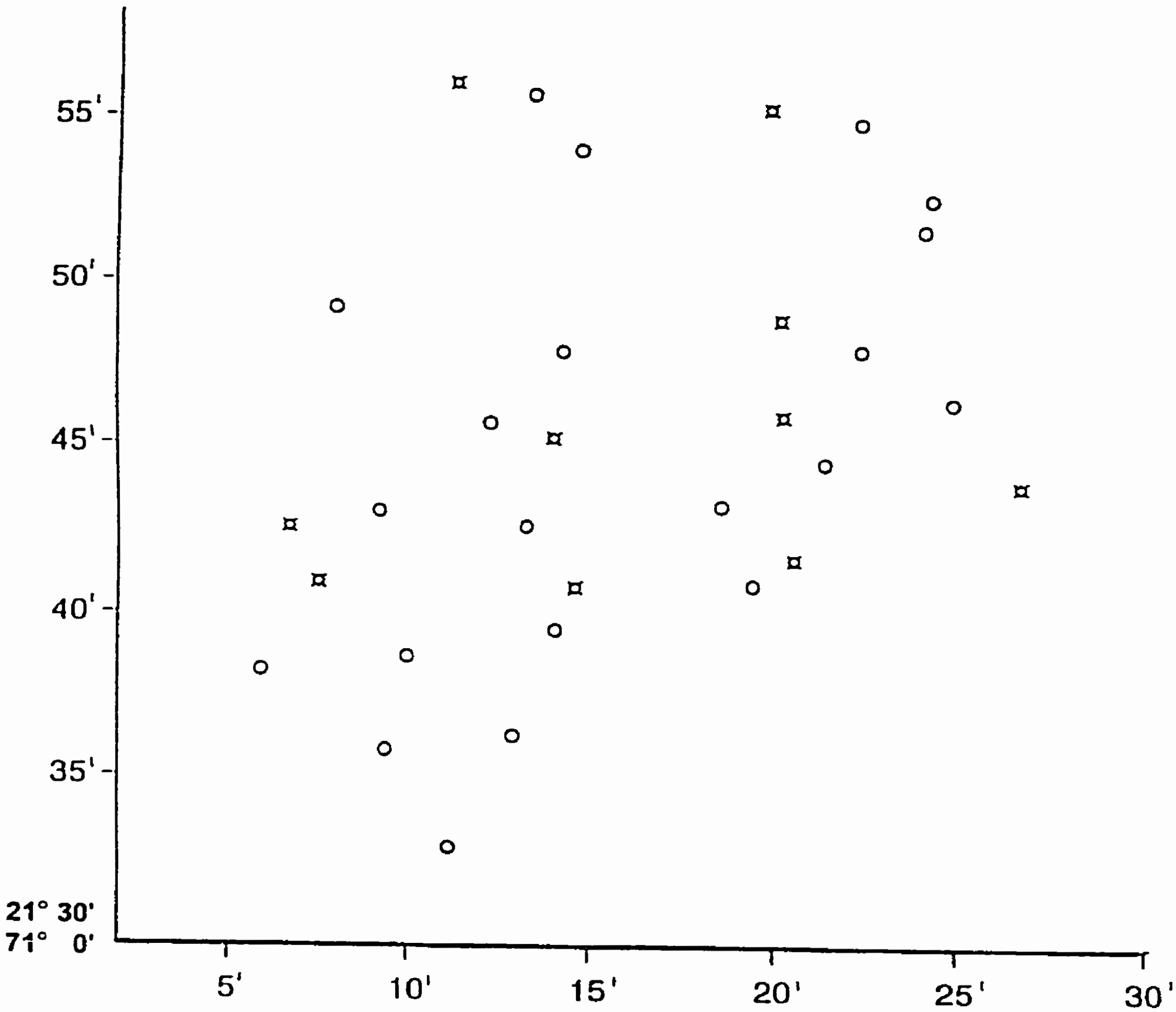
# TABLE 2
## Historic Periods / Coordinates
## Amreli District Survey Sites
## (continued)

Sites Continuing into the Late Historic (n=10)

| VILLAGE NAME | ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE COORDINATES | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Longitude | | | Latitude | | |
| Toda | 71° | 20' | 30" | 21° | 41' | 30" |
| Shekh Pipariya | 71 | 20 | 30 | 21 | 46 | 7.5 |
| Machiyala Mota | 71 | 14 | 22.5 | 21 | 40 | 30 |
| Bhildi | 71 | 13 | 30 | 21 | 45 | 30 |
| Galkotdi | 71 | 20 | 00 | 21 | 49 | 7.5 |
| Rampar | 71 | 27 | 00 | 21 | 44 | 00 |
| Kotda Pitha | 71 | 11 | 15 | 21 | 56 | 30 |
| Sukvada | 71 | 18 | 00 | 21 | 56 | 15 |
| Kathma | 71 | 7 | 00 | 21 | 40 | 45 |
| Lunidhar | 71 | 6 | 22.5 | 21 | 42 | 22.5 |

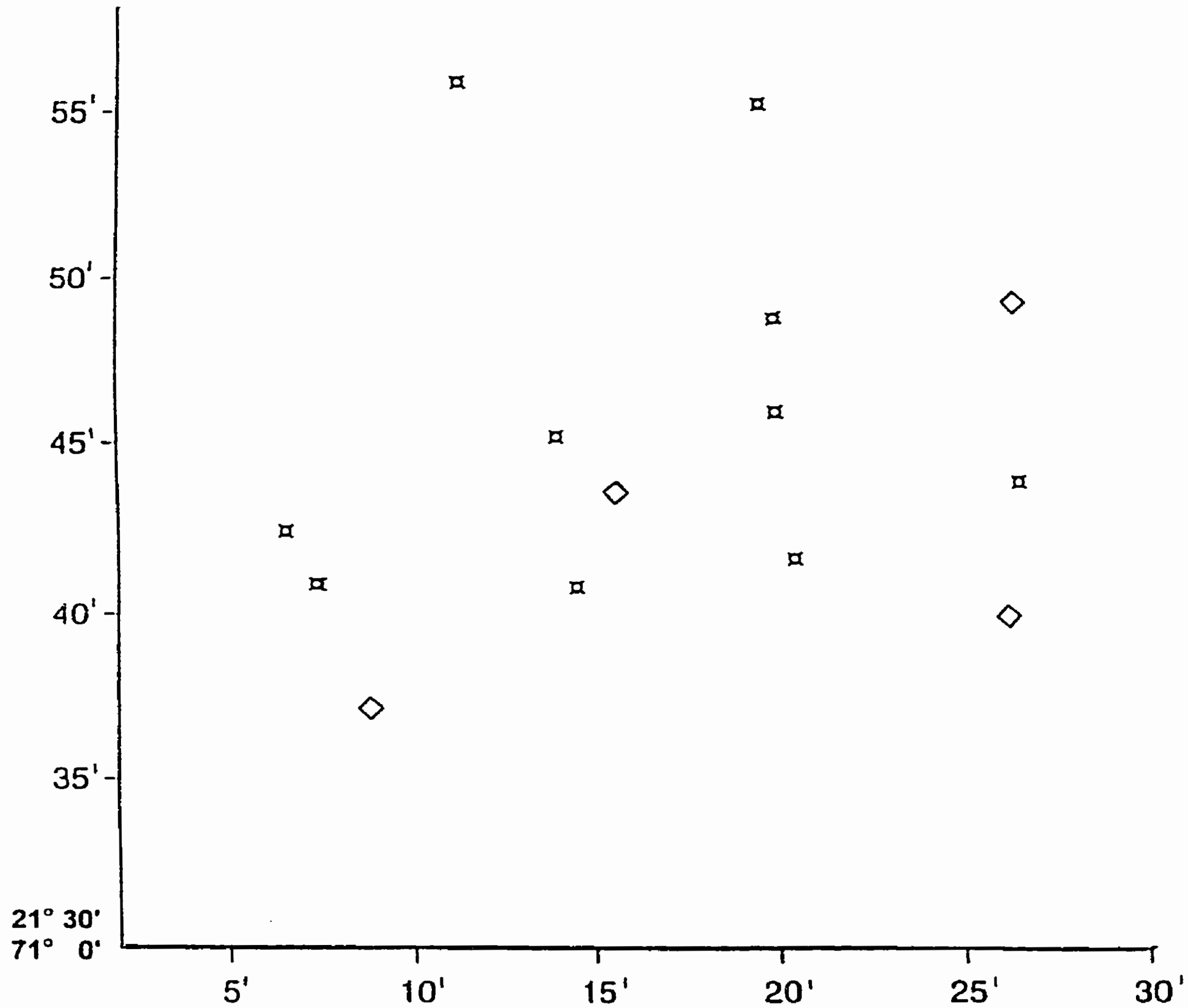
New sites beginning in the Late Historic period (n=4)

| VILLAGE NAME | ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE COORDINATES | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Longitude | | | Latitude | | |
| Bhingrad | 71° | 26' | 52.5" | 21° | 40' | 52.5" |
| Khijadiya Radadiya | 71 | 15 | 00 | 21 | 43 | 15 |
| Amarpur | 71 | 9 | 45 | 21 | 37 | 7.5 |
| Barvala | 71 | 26 | 30 | 21 | 50 | 45 |




○ = RPW sites, abandoned in Late Historic
¤ = RPW sites continuing into Late Historic

Figure 2
RPW Period Sites
(Amreli District Survey)




¤ = Late Historic sites continuing from RPW period
◇ = New Late Historic sites

Figure 3
Late Historic Period Sites
(Amreli District Survey)

not continue into the latter period. To investigate more fully the significance of the break between the RPW and Late Historic periods, I collected similar locational information for a continuous portion of Bhan's (1983; 1986) survey of Jamnagar District. I revisited a selection of sites he identified as correlating with the RPW / Late Historic division (see table 3) and, in consultation with him, plotted the locations of the archaeological sites themselves for each of the two periods (table 4).

**Patterning**

Given the clear index of change provided by RPW, in what ways were the two periods different? Archaeological settlement analysis is predicated on "the assumption that a pattern does exist, and one has to detect it" (Lal 1984: 199); nearest-neighbor analysis is a usual starting point. The statistic compares the observed distribution of points, in this case, sites, against an expected arrangement of the same number of sites randomly distributed. Calculating the nearest-neighbor statistic is not labor-intensive and usually suggests some further avenues of research. But the statistic is a "relatively simple characterization of spatial patterning and should be considered only an initial step in the description and interpretation of the spatial dimension of archaeological materials" (Pinder, et al. 1979: 443). With that in mind, while

# TABLE 3
## Red Polished Ware and Late Historic Sites
## Jamnagar District Survey

### KHAMBALIYA Taluka

| Site Number (Bhan 1986) | Village Name | Period of Occupation (Bhan's periods in parentheses) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 115 | Kota | RPW/LH | (II, III) |
| 116 | Lalparda | RPW | (II) |

### JAMJODHPUR Taluka

| Site Number (Bhan 1986) | Village Name | Period of Occupation (Bhan's periods in parentheses) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 27a. | Dhrafa (i) | RPW/LH | (II,III) |
| 27b. | Dhrafa (ii) | RPW/LH | (II, III, IV) |
| 32 | Valsan | RPW/LH | (II, III) |
| 28 | Meghpar | RPW | (II) |
| 33 | Zinawari Gop | RPW | (II) |

### LALPUR Taluka

| Site Number (Bhan 1986) | Village Name | Period of Occupation (Bhan's periods in parentheses) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 126 | Godavari II | RPW | (II) |
| 127 | Godavari III | LH | (III) |

(continued)

TABLE 3
Red Polished Ware and Late Historic Sites
Jamnagar District Survey
(continued)

BHANVAD Taluka

| Site Number (Bhan 1986) | Village Name | Period of Occupation (Bhan's periods in parentheses) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 6 | Fatepur I | RPW/LH | (II, III, IV) |
| 7 | Fatepur II | RPW/LH | (II, III, IV) |
| 5 | Bodki | LH | (III, IV) |
| 13 | Kalavad I | LH | (III) |
| 14 | Kalavad II | RPW | (II) |
| 3 | Bhangor | RPW/LH | (II, III) |
| 12 | Kabarka | LH | (III) |
| 21 | Rupa Mora | LH | (III) |
| 15 | Mevasa | RPW/LH | (II, III) |
| 22 | Sai Devaliya | RPW/LH | (II, III) |
| 24 | Verad (i) | RPW | (II) |
| 25 | Verad (ii) | LH | (IV) |
| 8 | Ghumli | RPW/LH | (II, III, IV) |
| 10 | Hathla | RPW/LH | (II, III) |
| 19 | Pachtar | LH | (III, IV) |

**TABLE 4**
**Historic Periods / Coordinates**
**Jamnagar District Survey Sites**

Red Polished Ware Sites (n=17)

| SITE # (Bhan 1986) | LONGITUDE | | | LATITUDE | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 115 | 69° | 42' | 0" | 22° | 10' | 15" |
| 116 | 69 | 36 | 37.5 | 22 | 0 | 0 |
| 27a | 70 | 7 | 37.5 | 21 | 58 | 22.5 |
| 27b | 70 | 8 | 45 | 21 | 57 | 45 |
| 32 | 70 | 8 | 30 | 21 | 54 | 45 |
| 28 | 69 | 53 | 45 | 21 | 59 | 52.5 |
| 33 | 69 | 55 | 7.5 | 22 | 1 | 0 |
| 126 | 69 | 56 | 30 | 22 | 8 | 30 |
| 6 | 69 | 50 | 7.5 | 21 | 56 | 52.5 |
| 7 | 69 | 51 | 0 | 21 | 56 | 0 |
| 14 | 69 | 53 | 7.5 | 21 | 54 | 30 |
| 3 | 69 | 51 | 0 | 22 | 4 | 37.5 |
| 15 | 69 | 48 | 52.5 | 21 | 53 | 15 |
| 22 | 69 | 48 | 0 | 21 | 58 | 22.5 |
| 24 | 69 | 52 | 22.5 | 21 | 57 | 0 |
| 8 | 69 | 46 | 0 | 21 | 52 | 7.5 |
| 10 | 69 | 37 | 52.5 | 21 | 50 | 0 |

(continued)

TABLE 4
Historic Periods / Coordinates
Jamnagar District Survey Sites
(continued)

Sites Continuing into the Late Historic (n=11)

| SITE # (Bhan 1986) | LONGITUDE | | | LATITUDE | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 115 | 69° | 42' | 0" | 22° | 10' | 15" |
| 27a | 70 | 7 | 37.5 | 21 | 58 | 22.5 |
| 27b | 70 | 8 | 45 | 21 | 57 | 45 |
| 32 | 70 | 8 | 30 | 21 | 54 | 45 |
| 6 | 69 | 50 | 7.5 | 21 | 56 | 52.5 |
| 7 | 69 | 51 | 0 | 21 | 56 | 0 |
| 3 | 69 | 51 | 0 | 22 | 4 | 37.5 |
| 15 | 69 | 48 | 52.5 | 21 | 53 | 15 |
| 22 | 69 | 48 | 0 | 21 | 58 | 22.5 |
| 8 | 69 | 46 | 0 | 21 | 52 | 7.5 |
| 10 | 69 | 37 | 52.5 | 21 | 50 | 0 |

New sites beginning in the Late Historic period (n=7)

| SITE # (Bhan 1986) | LONGITUDE | | | LATITUDE | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 127 | 69° | 57' | 0" | 22° | 9' | 37.5" |
| 5 | 69 | 49 | 45 | 21 | 59 | 37.5 |
| 12 | 69 | 49 | 52.5 | 22 | 1 | 37.5 |
| 13 | 69 | 52 | 52.5 | 21 | 54 | 30 |
| 21 | 69 | 44 | 30 | 21 | 56 | 15 |
| 25 | 69 | 53 | 0 | 21 | 56 | 45 |
| 19 | 69 | 42 | 0 | 21 | 52 | 0 |

plotting the Amreli sites in the field, I calculated nearest-neighbor statistics for the two periods.[5] The distribution of sites appeared very similar for each of the periods: it seemed that although the numbers and locations of sites changed over time, these disruptions had very little effect on the overall "picture" I had of the landscape.

Because of its extreme sensitivity to the boundaries of the study area, the nearest-neighbor statistic is often of limited utility in archaeological surveys. This is especially true when boundaries are not square (Pinder, et al. 1979: 434), as the outlines of a village-to-village survey certainly are not. What interested me, however, was the seemingly unchanging nature of the pattern itself -- sites were nearly equally dispersed in both time periods. Lal notes a similar, regular spacing of settlements in the doabs of Kanpur District for successive historic periods (1984: 201-204). I was reminded of Charles Metcalfe's impression of Indian villages in the landscape, the panorama of "wonderful general uniformity throughout India," and his incantatory "Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down; revolution succeeds to revolution; Hindoo, Patan, Mogul, Mahratta, Sik, English, are all masters in turn, but the

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[5]I do not include these calculations here. I did them off field maps, and the main purpose they served was to point me in the direction of the simulation, described below.

village communities remain the same" (Metcalfe 1833: 466, 470). Could this be material demonstration of such uniformity?

More likely, the nearest-neighbor statistic was demonstrating its limitations. The circumstances it described were static -- "flattened" pictures of one period and then a later, different one -- and elided the process of how those pictures were related. My real interest was less in the differences (or not) in the two periods compared to one another than in the significant change in settlements observed to have occurred from one period to the next. I have no way of knowing how rapid or slow this change, this archaeological "event," might have been. On the basis only of a survey, and a small one at that, it would not be possible to determine within either period how many sites over time might have moved a few kilometers away, or been abandoned and resettled, or even occupied continuously for some 1,000 years. But the fact remained that, over time, 68% of RPW sites ceased to exist, coincident with a major change in the political rule of Saurashtra. In other words, though the Gupta dynasty "tumbled," it was hard to see how the villages, if one could characterize these rural communities of Saurashtra as such, "remained the same."

**Probabilities**

The nearest-neighbor statistic itself might not always be particularly illuminating, but the concept of the "nearest neighbor" and the comparison with a "random" distribution, are still useful. The nearest-neighbor statistic is applied in archaeology to many kinds of point patterns -- e.g., across the landscape in the forms of temples, forts, and other structures, or, in a different focus, artifact or debris distributions in excavated floors. In the current instance, the concept of "neighbor" takes on a special, literal quality: my working hypothesis was that the settlements of Amreli were not isolated village communities of orientalism's "imaginative geography," but instead had significant relationships with one another in space, and, taken in aggregate, formed a community.

One archaeological manifestation of such a community would be the arrangement and existence through time of settlements relative to one another. My two "flattened" pictures of site distributions were temporally related. Instead of measuring how they each deviated in their respective times from the random, it would be far more interesting to track, even in a small way, how one transmuted into the other.

The extent to which their existences were intertwined can be measured by looking for patterning in the archaeological "event" of the shift in

settlements from the RPW period to the Late Historic. How significant was it that this particular group of 21 RPW sites came not to be occupied during the Late Historic period? In other words, how likely was it that they "died out" by random chance, independently of one another? My picture would still be "flat," leaving out myriad fluctuations in space and time over the millennium. But it would, I hoped, be a more informative one.

Chance and randomness are difficult concepts to apply to human communities generated in the course of uncountable circumstances, many of them invisible and unmeasurable. But the statistical way to prove that an observed variation is meaningful is to disprove that it is not meaningful, by formulating a "null hypothesis" of randomness. In this case, the null hypothesis to be disproved was that the RPW settlements that I observed to be abandoned in the Late Historic did so randomly. Occupation at 21 of the 31 Amreli RPW sites did not continue into the Late Historic period. The hypothesis of randomness was tested by measuring how probable it was that, out of all possible combinations of n = 21, this particular group of 21 sites would be the one to not be continuously occupied. Focusing on the "pool" of total RPW sites to calculate this probability, instead of the arrangement of points within a bounded space, had the additional benefit of minimizing the "boundary effects" inherent surveys, particularly the village-to-village type.

The probability was calculated by means of a simulation of other possible groupings of sites. In the course of the simulation, 500 combinations of 21 of the 31 sites were created. For each site in each cluster of 21, the distance to the neighboring site in the cluster was determined, and an average nearest-neighbor distance for the cluster was calculated. This average nearest-neighbor distance for the cluster constituted the "test statistic," which was then used to measure the difference between the observed data and what could be expected under the null hypothesis. The significance level (p-value) is the chance of getting a test statistic as or more extreme than the statistic for the actual cluster of 21 sites. The significance level for this cluster is quite small, 0.01, which argues very strongly against the null hypothesis.

A similar simulation was run on the group of Jamnagar RPW sites. Settlements appear more stable in Jamnagar -- only 6 of the 17 sites (35%) were not continuously occupied into the Late Historic period. The p-value for the Jamnagar sites was higher than for Amreli -- 0.10 -- which provides some, less strong, evidence that settlements were not abandoned "randomly."

A word about site size: Site sizes were measured in the present survey as well as in the other two under discussion (see Appendix for the Amreli District sites; Possehl 1980 for sites in Bhavnagar District; and Bhan 1983 for the Jamnagar District sites). Great care must be exercised in drawing conclusions

based on such measurements, however. My discussion of the historic settlements of Amreli centers on only two of the ceramically-identified occupations of the area. Surface scatters of pottery, which are what one measures in determining site size, commonly include Harappan and recent pottery in Saurashtra. All occupational phases contribute to the size of the sherd scatter. The occasional site is densely covered with sherds; in my experience, these tend to be Harappan sites. More often, sites of all periods are heavily eroded. Cultivation and herding, road construction and maintenance, monsoon flooding, heavy traffic by animals, humans, and vehicles, and modern settlements all seriously disturb archaeological sites in Saurashtra. As do archaeologists -- some of the better-known sites have been visited and collected repeatedly by the Archaeological Survey of India, the Gujarat State Department of Archaeology, several universities, and affiliated foreign researchers. As I collected and measured a site, I sometimes listened to a litany of these visits narrated by the village residents; and to keep from obliterating a site, I often collected only enough type sherds to document its dates of occupation. Furthermore, in my view, determining sites sizes is far more subjective a process than typing ceramic contents. The latter process is a consensual one drawing upon accumulated knowledges of ceramic collections, published drawings and face-to-face discussions among archaeologists. In the

surveys considered here, site sizes were determined by different individuals, years removed in time, and, in the Amreli survey, in singular, never-to-be repeated site visits.

That said, some very general impressions can be articulated about differences in site sizes among the areas of Saurashtra. Possehl reports much larger average sherd scatters in Bhavnagar for both the RPW (6.50 ± 4.25 hectares) and Late Historic (5.43 ± 5.73 hectares) periods than I determined for Amreli (RPW 1.36 ± .86 hectares; Late Historic 1.14 ± .85 hectares). This difference could be attributed to several factors aside from subjective determinations of field workers -- the location of the Bhavnagar sites along rivers, for example, different rates of occupation during the Harappan and recent historical periods, or the erosion of sites over time. It is interesting to note, however, that the sizes of the Bhavnagar sites do not change dramatically from one period to the next, nor do those in Amreli.

Information about site occupations from each of the three surveys -- Jamnagar, Amreli, and Possehl's in Bhavnagar -- show a trend from east to west across the peninsula of increasing disturbance in settlement patterning during the transition to the Late Historic period (table 5). Additional information may be provided by the genesis of the few new sites that appear in the Late Historic. The historical implications of such trends are discussed below.

TABLE 5
Peninsular Trends

| | Jamnagar (west) | Amreli (central) | Bhavnagar (east) |
|---|---|---|---|
| RPW sites | n = 17 | n = 31 | n = 23 |
| Sites continuing into Late Historic | n = 11 | n = 10 | n = 6 |
| Sites that were not reoccupied | n = 6 (35%) | n = 21 (68%) | n = 17 (74%) |

| | Jamnagar (west) | Amreli (central) | Bhavnagar (east) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Late Historic, new sites | n = 7 | n = 4 | n = 13 |
| Late Historic, total sites | n = 18 | n = 14 | n = 19 |
| Proportion (new/total) | 39% | 29% | 68% |

**Historical Saurashtra**

My intention is not to much to narrate the early history of Saurashtra, but to focus on certain points which pertain to the ancient landscape and the viewpoint that settlement archaeology contributes. In particular, I will try to "focus" my landscape perspective on both the miniaturized and magnified landscapes by considering what localized effects can be observed in the rural communities of Saurashtra in the course of dynastic changes known from historical accounts.[6]

The period associated with RPW in Saurashtra began in the first century A.D. when the peninsula was ruled by several short-lived groups in turn and, eventually, the Western Kshatrapas who came to power in 124 A.D. and then dominated unimpeded by competition for 200 years (Sankalia 1941: 10). The Kshatrapas originated in the north, and ruled from the mainland, from Ujjain in Malwa. Under them the most important center in Saurashtra remained Junagadh, site of the Ashokan edicts where one of the Kshatrapas, Rudradaman, "raised the Ksatrapa state to a height of power and glory never before attained" (Virji 1952: 10), by appending his own inscription to the rock.

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[6]Much of the dynastic history of Gujarat for the two periods considered here is known from stone inscriptions and grants issued in the form of copper plates.

Over time the title "Kshatrapa" in the inscriptions changed back and forth to "Mahakshatrapa," indicating a gain or loss in power. The bulk of such inscriptions is known from Saurashtra, though similar inscriptions have been found as far away as Taxila, dated to the first century B.C. (Salomon 1974: 11-13). Clearly events in Saurashtra were closely related to those of mainland Gujarat, especially to Lata [modern South Gujarat, from the Mahi River to the Tapti River] (Sankalia 1941: 5, 13). There is some thought that these Western Kshatrapas at least began their reign as vassals of the Kushanas (Van Beuren Wittmann 1984: 18), but perhaps more evidence that they did not (Salomon 1974: 19). It does appear that by the time of Rudradaman's appropriation of the Ashokan rock edicts he was asserting his ascension to "mahakshatrapa" (Salomon 1974: 19; Virji 1952: 10).

This "glory" of the Kshatrapa reign seems to have faded after Rudradaman, when former subordinates, the Abhiras, competed for control of Saurashtra and portions of the mainland. Certainly after Rudradaman there were no "mahakshatrapas" until the title was revived briefly by the last Kshatrapa king in 348 A.D. (Virji 1952: 10-11). The four-century rule of the Kshatrapas ended in sometime around the beginning of the fifth century A.D. when the Guptas annexed the regions controlled by them, including Saurashtra (Sankalia 1941: 11; Virji 1952: 12). The Gupta dynasty broke up several

generations later, in 470 A.D., but their brief hold over Saurashtra was marked by the removal of the local rulers and installation of a new viceroy at Junagadh (Sankalia 1941: 11).

This early period, ending in concert with the Guptas, is characterized as "enveloped in a mist of legend" by one of Saurashtra's main chroniclers, K.J. Virji (1952: 1). Although the edicts of Ashoka and the inscriptions of Rudradaman and other Kshatrapas fix Saurashtra in space and time, for Virji "history" begins with the more regularized and numerous copper-plate grants of the Maitraka dynasty, founded at Valabhi, probably by a Gupta general, in c. 500 A.D. (Nanavati and Dhaky 1969: 11). From these grants is appears that, after the breakup of the Gupta dynasty, Saurashtra and Lata separated politically as a number of petty chiefdoms, possibly former Gupta dependents, ruled as independent principalities (Sankalia 1949: 11-12; 1941: 11). In the peninsula, the center of political power shifted from west to east, from Junagadh to Valabhi (modern Vala in Bhavnagar District). It is unclear to whom the Maitraka kings were affiliated or subordinated at first (Sankalia 1941: 28), but over a period of about fifty years they extended their rule over much of the peninsula, and north to the Sabermati River, eventually becoming the strongest of the western kingdoms (Van Beuren Wittmann 1984: 23-24; Sankalia 1941: 28-29). Lata assumed increasing regional economic importance

in India, while Saurashtra and the area of modern north Gujarat, less economically and politically oriented to the mainland, were ruled unchallenged by the Maitrakas (Van Beuren Wittmann 1984: 26).

Before the Maitrakas made Valabhi their capital, it had been a great center of Jain and Buddhist scholarship, as well known at the time as the great Buddhist university at Nalanda, and the site of many monasteries (Altekar 1925: 39-40; Nanavati and Dhaky 1969: 13). From this base, the Maitraka kingdom grew in power until the seventh century A.D. when Hsuan-Tsang visited and attested to its great wealth, monasteries, and identity as a port (Altekar 1925: 39). The Maitrakas came to an indeterminate end, in the late eighth century A.D. when the capital city was completely leveled (Sankalia 1949: 12; Van Beuren Wittmann 1984: 89-90).

After the fall of the Maitrakas of Valabhi, the entire Saurashtra peninsula came under the control of major powers of the mainland -- principally the Gurjara-Pratiharas -- until the tenth century, and grants indicate a large variety of terms now used to designate the subordinate provinces of different kingdoms (Van Beuren Wittmann 1984: 33-35). In west Saurashtra, the Saindhava dynasty came to power with its capital at Ghumali in the Barda hills of Jamnagar District. This dynasty continued to rule over a small, distinct

region in the far western part of the peninsula, until references to it end in 915 A.D. (Virji 1952: 35; Nanavati and Dhaky 1969: 13).

**The Localized Landscape**

How does the landscape of Saurashtra appear if we situate ourselves in the rural communities of Saurashtra? As discussed above, the pictures obtained by mapping the archaeological sites are "flattened" -- they compress many years of changes and movements over space into only two images. Some basic patterns emerge, however, in the localized "landscapes" within Saurashtra, especially since the archaeological "event" that created the two pictures is marked by a well documented change -- the simultaneous decline of the Gupta empire and the disappearance of RPW.

In a localized landscape, the current understanding of sites as "settlements" must be qualified. The sites are all identified by the presence of pottery, and so are considered to have at some points in their pasts been occupied by "settled" populations. As discussed above, sherd scatters can be deceptive indicators of the size of settlements in the past, and little research has been directed at estimating population densities at excavated sites. The changes observed to occur in the transition from the RPW period to the Late Historic should in no way be conceived of as "cataclysmic" changes in numbers

of people. Aside from the admitted "flattening" that marks the distributions of the two periods, it is important to keep in mind that a wide continuum of "occupations" of space probably existed in Saurashtra at many times in the past and in the present, all of which are differentially visible in the landscape. Relying exclusively on sherd scatters as indicators of sites, as is usual in village-to-village surveys (and as I have done in Amreli) misses lesser-settled occupations of space; and many such events leave extremely fragile surface traces, or none at all. Possehl (1979) discusses the range of strategies probably employed by populations in the Harappan Posturban phase, who lived in a range of ephemeral camps, nomadic, temporary settlements, and villages of varying sizes.[7] Similarly in historic Saurashtra, the properly focused archaeological landscape must accommodate these many "invisible" elements.

The three different surveys provide varying pictures of rural communities of the peninsula over time. As discussed above, the rates of site occupation from the early to the late period show a distinct trend across the peninsula, with less site dislocation in the west and increasingly more moving eastward (table 5). A correlating trend can be noted in looking at the sites

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[7]Dr. Kuldeep Bhan has mentioned to me an interesting kind of village in present-day Jamnagar, the name apparently often denoted by the suffix "-nes." The inhabitants of these villages, like many in Saurashtra, cycle between nomadic herding and settled agriculture over time. The "-nes" villages, however, seem not to resettle in the same places, and often elude the census takers (and map-makers).

which are newly founded in the Late Historic period (table 5). Keeping in mind again the differences among the sizes and configurations of the surveys, it is possible to hypothesize that Jamanagar again shows a measure of stability, or at least equilibrium, in its settlements, as perhaps does Bhavnagar, at least along the major river valleys. The settled population of Amreli demonstrates the most dislocation, abandoning many more sites from the earlier period than it establishes in the later period.

These settlement disruptions might be seen to correlate with what is known of political shifts across the peninsula during these two periods. During the RPW period Saurashtra appears to have been unified as a region, economically and politically, with significant connections to mainland Gujarat and further inland. From their capital at Junagadh, the Western Kshatrapas controlled trade activity with the west and with mainland India, as did the Guptas after them. Several important religious sites were established, including Dwarka in western Saurashtra, Amreli, and Devnimori in North Gujarat (Ansari and Mate 1966; Rao 1966; Mehta and Chowdhary 1966). It is possible that the Guptas absorbed the existing political-economic structure of Saurashtra into the empire; the capital remained at Junagadh, and trade continued to flourish. Amreli appears to have been an important trade center

throughout the period, with affiliated Buddhist and Hindu religious complexes (Rao 1966: 14).

As described above, the decline of the Gupta empire probably disrupted connections among the regions of Saurashstra and with Lata as various areas came to be ruled by smaller chiefdoms. The existence of several newly configured regions can be correlated with the end of the wide, regional distribution of RPW.

The status of Amreli as a settlement after the early historic, RPW period is unclear. The RPW period is well-dated because the bulk of the coins found by S.R. Rao at Amreli were Kshatrapa coins found in association with this ware. After the evanescence of RPW in the archaeological record, life in Amreli is less clearly represented. Rao reports conflicting data for this Late Historic period. He describes the grant of Kharagraha I, inscribed on copper plates found in Amreli in 1933 and dated to 617-617 A.D. (1966: 110-111). The grant mentions Anumanjisthali, thought by Rao and others to correspond to the modern-day site of Amreli. The grant puzzled Rao, however, for although on its authority "[o]bviously Amreli must have been the headquarters of a sthali . . . the total absence of any important antiquity or structural remains attributable to the Maitraka period in the present excavations may suggest that it was not as important a town as in the days of the Kshatrapas"

(Rao 1966: 17). Rao was perhaps relying on Virji's tentative identification of Anumanjisthali as Amreli (1952: 294), but more likely Anumanjisthali was actually near Kodinar in southern Saurashtra (Van Beuren Wittmann 19884: 111 n. 65).

The grant's significance to Rao lay in its seeming characterization of Amreli as a district town during the Late Historic period; in other words, that Amreli continued to be an important center after the end of the RPW period. Especially in light of Rao's excavation, which indicates that after the RPW period Amreli remained occupied but in a markedly diminished capacity, and the absence of any reported ceramics similar to those known for the Late Historic period elsewhere in Saurashtra, I have not included it in my analysis as a Late Historic site. Occupation of the immediate area seems to have continued in and become more centered around the site of Machiyala Mota, near Amreli. Machiyala Mota, known to have been occupied during the RPW period, is perhaps Machchotika mentioned in the plates of Dhruvasena II Baladitya in the Amreli Museum, strengthening the argument that it continued to be occupied during the Late Historic period (Rao 1966: 8).

It is possible that as trade activity centered in Amreli and similar centers diminished into the Late Historic, populations reoriented their activities around contemporary, lesser communities such as Machiyala Mota, or into a

small group of new sites. The locations of four new sites observed in the Late Historic appear related to "clusters" of RPW sites that are abandoned during the later period (figure 4).

In the Late Historic period, the most important center in the peninsula now shifted from Junagadh east to Valabhi, as the Maitrakas selected the established religious center as their capital. Junagadh became the provincial capital of the Garulakas, who now ruled an area that included modern Jamnagar, separate from but subordinated to the Maitrakas (Virji 1952: 35; Bhan 1986: 12).

The fame of Valabhi as a religious and scholarly center grew under the Maitrakas, and temple-building escalated throughout the peninsula during this period. As the power of the Maitrakas grew, they came to control parts of the mainland (Nanavati and Dhaky 1969: 11-12). The creation of new territorial divisions, elaborated under the later rule of the Gurjara-Pratiharas, provides an administrative framework within which to view archaeological sites.

The Maitrakas divided Saurashra into provinces known as "visayas" (Van Beuren Wittmann 1984: 26). The sites of the Amreli survey during this early part of the Late Historic period lay primarily in the Saurashtra Visaya, as did the Bhavnagar sites; modern-Jamnagar was encompassed by another province, the Danti Visaya (Van Beuren Wittmann 1984: 96, figure 5). The

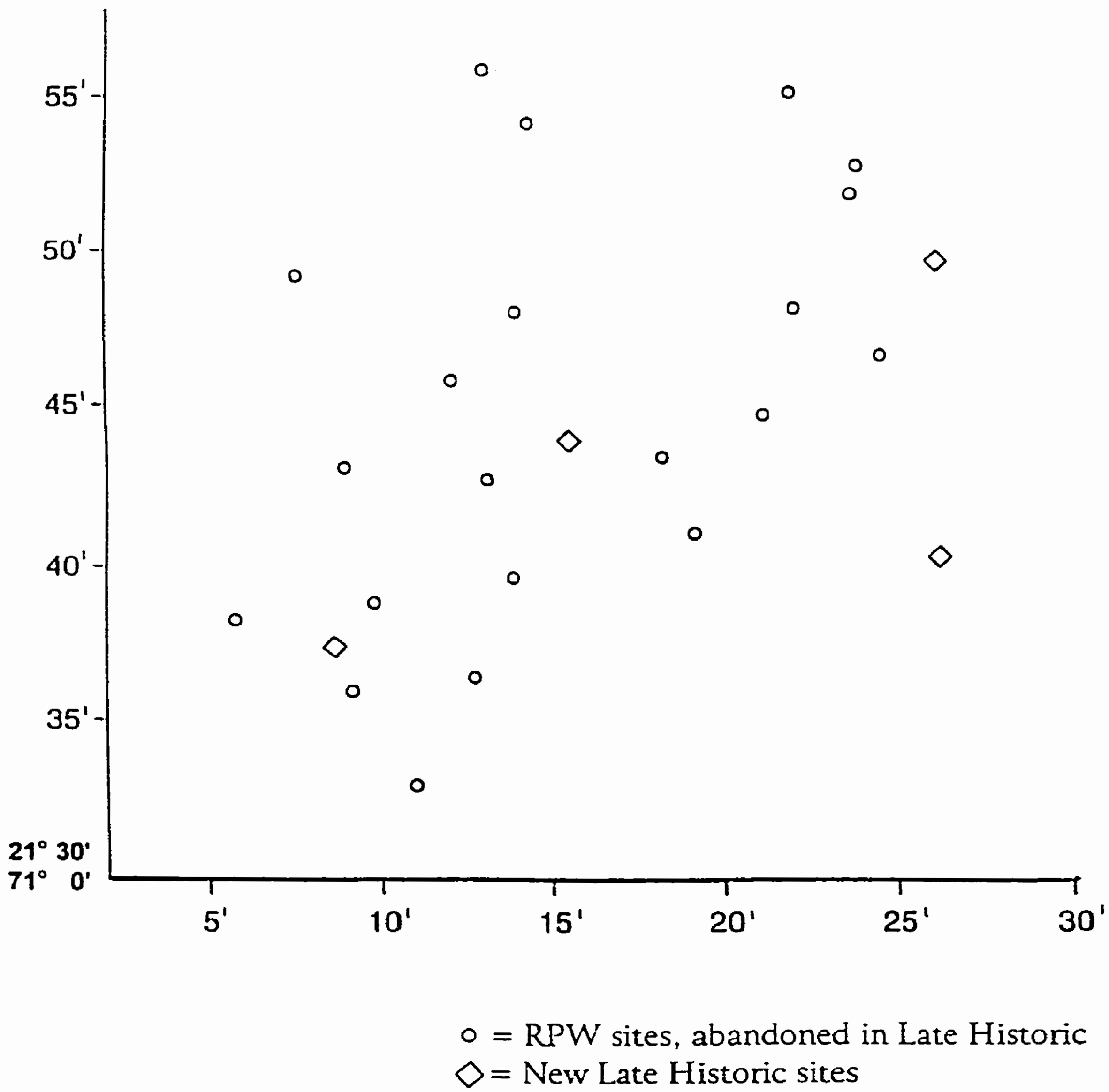



Figure 4
New Late Historic Sites and
Abandoned RPW Sites
(Amreli District Survey)

Saurashtra Visaya was further divided into districts known as aharas, sthalis, or pathakas: aharas tended to be near the Maitraka capital; their tax revenues probably supported the officials of Valabhi. Sthalis were located further away, in less fertile and less developed areas and their tax revenues perhaps supported local officials. Pathakas were the least economically important of the three divisions, being distant areas where settlement was encouraged to secure the kingdom's boundaries (Van Beuren Wittmann 1984: 102). The Bhavnagar sites lay within the river valley near the capital, most likely within aharas or the royal lands closest to the capital; the Amreli sites lay within various sthalies of central Saurashtra (Van Beuren Wittmann 1984: 104, figure 8). The administrative identities of the Bhavnagar and Amreli sites perhaps correlates with the patterns of settlement noted during the transition to the Late Historic. Only 6 riverine sites in Bhavnagar continue to be occupied into the later period (26%), yet nearly as many new sites are founded as are "lost." The identity of much of this area as, or near, royal lands of the Maitrakas, indicates significant rearrangement of land resources by the new kingdom. In contrast, the Amreli sites are now located in a less developed district, and show a markedly different pattern of fewer "visible" settlements, and perhaps more "ephemeral" types, indicating a change in land-use strategies.

In both periods, Jamnagar appears politically to be at varying remove from the events affecting Amreli and Bhavnagar. Life in Jamnagar probably was closely integrated into the politics of the peninsula during the RPW period when the Western Kshatrapas ruled from Junagadh in the central-west. Junagadh's continued identity as a provincial capital under the Maitrakas at the beginning of the Late Historic period perhaps caused less disruption to the settlements of the western peninsula in the transition from the earlier RPW period. After the end of Maitraka rule, Jamnagar was ruled by the Saindhavas of Ghumali. By the end of this Late Historic period Saurashtra itself had been split into four separate provinces, three "mandalas" and one "desa," and Jamnagar continued to be "separate," located in the mandala of Bhumilika while the areas of Bhavnagar and Amreli were in the Saurashtra mandala (Van Beuren Wittmann 1984: 36).

The Maitrakas made their capital at the established religious center of Valabhi. Excavation of towns with related religious shrines and the existence of major shrines along trade routes suggests a pattern of association of trade and religious centers that might reveal strategies of elite manipulations in the transition from the RPW period to the Late Historic. The settlement of Shamalaji along a major trade route in North Gujarat dates several centuries before the establishment of the nearby Buddhist pilgrim center of Devnimori

(Mehta and Patel 1967; Mehta and Chowdhary 1966). In some cases the growth in importance of religious shrines seems to coincide with the moving and expansion of the related town, as with the Jain center at Ankottaka near Baroda (Subbarao 1953: 10-11) and the Hindu shrine at Prabhas Patan at about the time settlement there shifted to Somnath (Nanavati, et al. 1971: 4-5).

Archaeological and historical evidence suggests that settlements during the RPW and Late Historic periods were integrated or disaggregated by elite manipulations of trade and religion. RPW is a trade ware found throughout the subcontinent, and first appears in Saurashtra. It can be hypothesized that coordination of interregional trade in the RPW period was analogous to the political sponsorship of religious activity in the Late Historic period, when religious scholarship of Valabhi flourished and the building of temples escalated in parts of the peninsula. "Settled" living in various areas perhaps evolved and disintegrated in concert with these political activities and sponsorships.

Specific historical contents are revealed by archaeology when the perspective shifts from a view of the ancient landscape in the dichotomy of "urban" and "village" settlements to one where "all human nucleations, from the smallest 'tribal' villages to the largest megalopolises, have the same

functions with respect to an inclusive society: facilitation of all forms of exchange, transfer, and communications, while linking the nucleation or locality both with other localities and with the society at large" (Leeds 1994: 73). Viewed in a "localized" way, the whole variety of human communities in the landscape can be perceived through time as expressions and then reconstitutions of shifting regional and local power relationships.

## Conclusion

I have discussed the creation of two separate, exaggerated landscapes of ancient India, but it is important to recall that the images are related as well, by way of the same centralized viewer. I have argued that the magnification and minimization of aspects of ancient India originated in early impressions of India which reserved the human scale for the British viewer, and complicated the recognition and commemoration of origins as manifested in the landscape. Landscapes are subjective, social constructs. It can be expected, then, that as the identity of the viewer shifts after colonialism, so will the view.

As its empire broke up, Great Britain rethought the commemoration of its own origins in the landscape. The publication in 1954 of The Lost Villages of England by Maurice Beresford launched a movement into previously unrecognized and uncelebrated lost rural settlements, putting "a new type of

archaeological field monument, the deserted medieval village" on the map (Aston 1985: 53). In India, I would argue, the inclination has been to "look over" deserted villages and instead see extant ones as the "field monuments" of antiquity. I see this in the geographer's desire for "pristine" landscapes, frustrated by contemporary villagers who have changed with the times (Wallach 1996: 14-38), tourist literature that constitutes rural India as timeless and dreamlike (Cox 1996: 3), and journalism that generalizes from the present backwards thousands of years (Critchfield 1994: 469-471). Should archaeologists not work to short-circuit this "monumentalizing" process, the result will be what scheduled monuments already are -- in Anderson's term (1991: 180), a "necrological census."

Studies of village communities in India and other places have complicated early colonial generalizations, and should also complicate images of the ancient landscape. Debates about the nature of rural settlements and the degrees to which they can be characterized as "closed" corporate or "open" communities, whether villages "open" and "close" through time, or even disappear all together (Boomgaard 1991; Rambo 1977; Skinner 1971; Wade 1988) suggest how difficult it would be to observe the range of ancient Indian occupations of the landscape. The existence in India of "tribal" communities

and populations that shift continually between city and village, or the village and the forest, further complicate the picture.

While village-to-village archaeological surveys are extremely economical to perform, as with nearest-neighbor analysis they are best used as starting points for formulating further research. Without follow-up, they serve merely as a modern treasure trove -- an inventory of precious objects "found" in the landscape. In the case of Saurashtra, research growing out of such surveys ideally would take the form of a model addressing questions generated in the course of surveys, augmented by ethnoarchaeological and historical research. The primary focus of such a model should be the nature of archaeological sites themselves. Since drought and scarcity are constant occurrences in Saurashtra, and often are highly localized, areas identified for intensive surveying (i.e., contiguous areas examined on foot) should focus especially on relict creek and river beds. To what extent can archaeological "nearest neighbors" be construed as resettlements of populations moving as water sources shift? Although excavation resources are tightly budgeted, only the excavation of non-monumental remains, those comparatively "unimportant" scatters of sherds, will help explain patterns of occupation through time.

Ethnoarchaeological research would further illuminate these patterns. Again, the occurrence or prospect of drought prompts communities to settle

and cultivate some seasons and migrate at other times. What traces do contemporary communities leave behind as they migrate with herds? Coordinated with historical records, hypotheses might be formed regarding the relatively open or closed natures of settled communities through time, and the relation of such settlements to less-settled populations. Furthermore, although RPW has been "resocialized" as an Indian ware, it is not really "known" yet. Analyses of the mineralogical components and chemical compounds of it and other wares would help determine sites of origin, especially important in understanding RPW's identity as a subcontinental trade ware thought to originate in Saurashtra.

Research growing out of surveys could also refocus the "colossal" landscape of Indian antiquity. Valabhi is one of the "unclaimed" ruins I described in chapter two, but, unlike Chitor, today it is more phantom than reality. As the Bombay Gazetteer describes it, "there do not appear to have been any large or imposing buildings in stone or if there were, all traces of them [have] now disappeared. A few stone bulls lie about in the jungle and one or two large lingas, but nothing of any interest" (quoted in Mehta 1964: 240). A busy taluka headquarters now occupies the space, making excavation impractical if not impossible. Intensive regional survey with the historical realities of Valabhi as a focus, however, would expand upon the suggestions I

have made in the course of my research. For example, can variations be observed across Saurashtra in settlements of the various Maitraka visayas? Do the patterns I have suggested for Amreli (fewer long-term settlements and more ephemeral types of occupations) and Bhavnagar (a marked increase in new settlements) hold up under further investigation, ideally excavation? Even given the difficulties of excavating in a modern town, the historical archaeology of Saurashtra would benefit from further forays into Valabhi itself. Its continuous occupation from at least the first century A.D. to the present, its identity as a first-order cultural, religious, and scholarly center during Maitraka times, its puzzling lack of fortification (Mehta 1964: 245-246), and its position as a port (now-silted) all are issues that carefully designed test excavations might address.

scale.

In the eighteenth century, judging, comparing, and composing landscapes in accordance with idealized images elevated the viewer and obscured the actual genius, or spirit, of the place (Barrell 1972: 63). This habit of "looking over" aspects of the ancient landscape which do not fit into preconceived, idealized views is still very real. For that reason, the archaeological research "landscape" I am describing here is intensely localized, and will not easily lend itself to generalizing much beyond the confines of

Saurashtra. In landscapes of antiquity, archaeologists are uniquely situated to reverse subjugation and liberate the genii -- the past inhabitants of an actual place perceived on an actual, human scale; remaining tightly focused on specific areas will, in the end, yield more satisfying archaeological landscape images.

## APPENDIX
## Archaeological Sites
## Amreli District Survey

This appendix lists archaeological sites located during the village-to-village survey of portions of Amreli District, described in Chapter 5. Sites are listed by taluka. Harappan occupations are correlated to the periods determined by S.R. Rao in his excavation of the site of Rangpur (Rao 1962-63). Historic periods are noted as "RPW" (Red Polished Ware), "LH" (Late Historic), or "recent." Geocoordinates were not determined for sites occupied only during Harappan periods and/or recently; descriptive locations for those sites are included here. Where possible, illustrations are provided for historic period sites. All pottery is wheel-made, and color references are to the Munsell Soil Color Chart.

**LATHI Taluka**

Bhingrad (village)
Neshlo Timbo (site)
site size: 145 x 64 meters
LH occupation

See Figure 5:

1. Late Historic red ware; medium fabric with vegetable temper, 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow; burnished slip inside and out, 10R 4/6 red; 16 cm diameter

2. Late Historic red ware; fine fabric 5YR 6/4 light reddish brown, with dark core; slip inside and out, 10R 5/6 red; 16 cm diameter

3. Late Historic red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 5YR 6/6 reddish brown, with dark core; slip inside and out, 2.5YR 4/8 red; 26 cm diameter

4. Late Historic red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 5YR5/6 yellowish red with dark core; slip inside and out, 10R 5/6 red; 16 cm diameter

5. Late Historic red ware; medium fabric with sand temper, 5YR 5/6 yellowish red, with dark core; slip outside and over lip, 2.5YR 5/6 red; 26 cm diameter

6. Late Historic gray ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 2/0 black; burnished slip inside and out, 2.5YR 5/6 red; 12 cm diameter

7. Late Historic gray ware; medium fabric with sand temper, 7.5YR 3/0 very dark gray; burnished slip inside and out, 7.5YR 3/0 very dark gray; 18 cm diameter

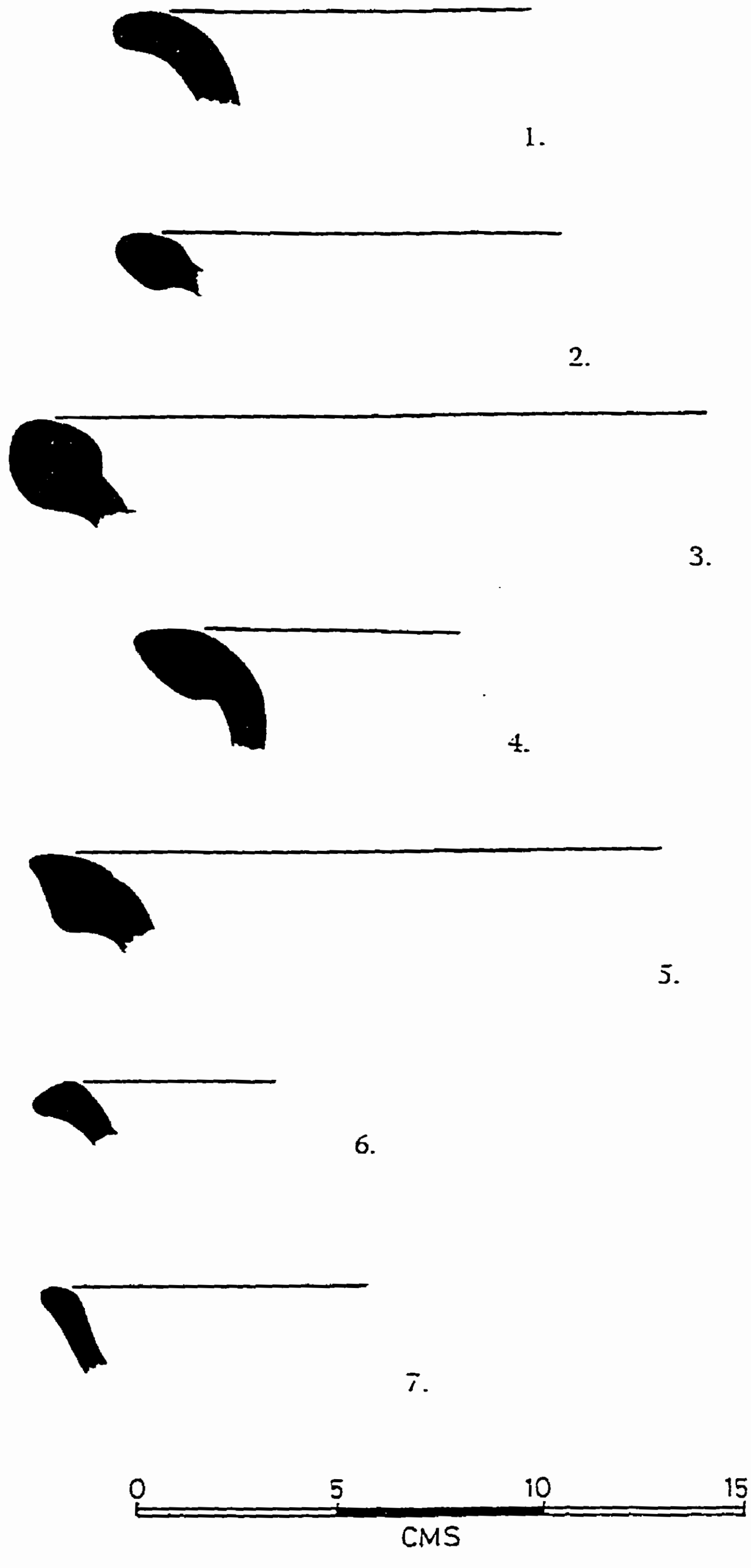



Figure 5. Pottery, Neshlo Timbo (Bhingrad village)

Toda (village)
Babaria Dhoro (site; badly damaged -- main road runs through site)
site size: 70 x 50 meters
RPW, LH occupation

See Figure 6:

1. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 5YR 5/4 reddish brown; burnished slip inside and out, 10R 4/6 red; 14 cm diameter

2. RPW-associated red ware; coarse fabric with sand temper, 5YR 5/3 reddish brown; burnished slip inside and out, 2/5YR 4/6 red; 14 cm diameter

3. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 7,5YR 5/4 brown; slip inside and out, 2.5YR 4/4 reddish brown; 16 cm diameter

4. RPW-associated red ware; coarse fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 6/4 light brown; slip inside and out, 2.5YR 4/4 reddish brown; 12 cm diameter

5. RPW-associated red ware; coarse fabric with sand temper, 5YR 4/2 dark reddish gray; burnished slip outside, 7/5YR 4/4 dark brown; slip inside, 7.5YR 5/4 brown; 22 cm diameter

6. Late Historic red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 5YR 5/4 reddish brown; burnished slip outside 10R 5/8 red; slip inside, 10R 5/8 red; 24 cm diameter

7. Late Historic red ware; medium fabric with sand temper, 2.5YR 5/6 red, with dark core; 22 cm diameter

8. Late Historic gray ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 2.5YR 4/0 dark gray; burnished slip outside, mottled 2.5YR 4/6 red and 5YR 4/2 dark reddish gray; burnished slip inside 5YR 5/4 reddish brown; 22 cm diameter

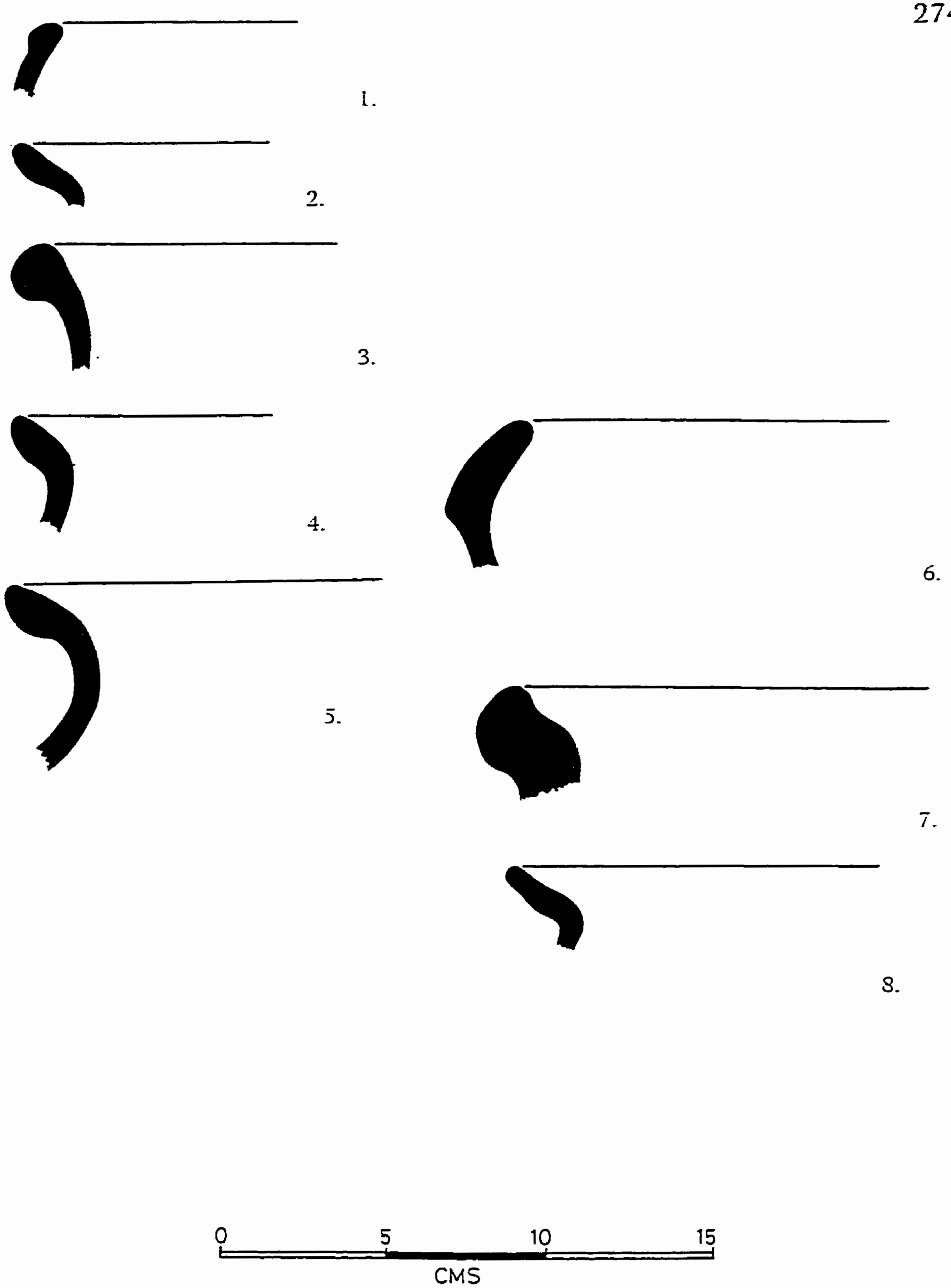



Figure 6. Pottery, Babaria Dhoro (Toda village)

Keriya (village)
Bhahuro Dhoro (site)
site size: 150 x 180 meters
Rangpur IIBC-III, RPW occupation

See Figure 7:

1. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 5YR 5/4 reddish brown, with dark core; burnished slip inside and out, 2.5YR 4/6 red; 18 cm diameter

2. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand temper, 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow, with dark core; burnished slip outside and over rim, 2.5YR 4/6 red; inner surface 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow; 18 cm diameter

3. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 5YR 6/4 reddish brown; burnished slip inside and out, 10R 4/6 red; 14 cm diameter

4. RPW-associated black-and-red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 2.5YR 4/0 dark gray; burnished slip outside, 2.5YR 4/4 reddish brown; burnished slip inside, 2.5YR 4/0 dark gray; 16 cm diameter

5. RPW-associated gray ware; medium fabric with sand temper, 5YR 4/1, dark gray; burnished slip inside and out, mottled 7.5YR 4/2 dark brown and 5YR 3/1 very dark gray; 16 cm diameter

6. RPW-associated gray ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 2.5YR 4/0, dark gray; burnished slip outside, mottled 5YR 4/3 reddish brown and 10YR 6/3 pale brown; burnished slip inside on upper rim 5YR 4/2 dark reddish gray; burnished slip on lower rim 2.5YR 3/0 very dark gray; inner surface 10YR 5/1 gray; 18 cm diameter

7. RPW-associated gray ware; medium fabric with vegetable temper, 10YR 5/2 grayish brown, with dark core; burnished slip outside, mottled 7.5YR 4/2 dark brown and 5YR dark reddish gray; inner surface 10YR 6/2; 22 cm diameter

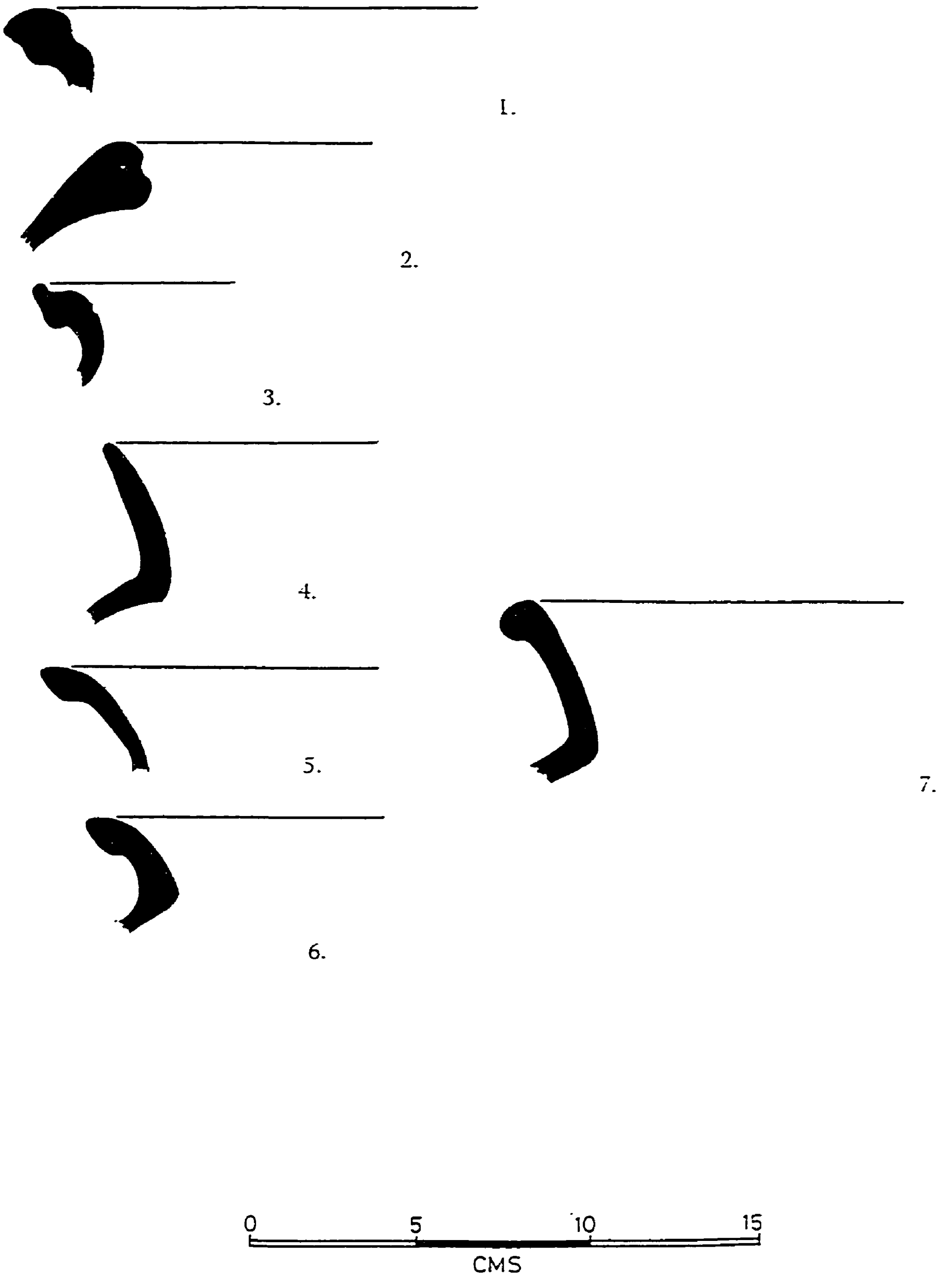



Figure 7. Pottery, Bhahuro Dhoro (Keriya village)

Shekh Pipariya (village)
Narsitpur Dhoro (site)
site size: 120 x 100 meters
RPW, LH occupation

See Figure 8:

1. RPW; fine fabric, 5YR 5/6 yellowish red; burnished slip inside and out, 10R 6/8 light red; 16 cm diameter

2. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 5/6 strong brown; burnished slip inside and out, 2.5YR 5/6 red; 18 cm diameter

3. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 5YR 5/6 yellowish red; burnished slip inside and out, 2.5YR 4/4 reddish brown; 12 cm diameter

4. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 10YR 6/4 light yellowish brown; burnished slip inside and out, 7/5YR 5/6 strong brown; approx. 16 cm diameter

5. Late Historic red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 5/6 strong brown; burnished slip inside and out, 5YR 5/6 yellowish red; 15 cm diameter

6. Late Historic red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 5/4 brown, with dark core; slip inside and out, 10R 4/6 red; 16 cm diameter

7. Late Historic red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 5/4 brown, with dark core; slip outside, mottled 5YR 4/3 reddish brown and 5YR 3/2 dark reddish brown; inner surface 5YR 4/3 reddish brown; 16 cm diameter

8. Late Historic gray ware; medium temper with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 2/0 black; burnished slip inside (not on inner rim), mottled 7.5YR 2/0 black and 10YR 4/2 dark grayish brown; inner surface, 7.5YR 6/2 pinkish gray; burnished slip outside, 10YR 4/1 dark gray; 16 cm diameter

9. Late Historic gray ware; medium with sand and vegetable temper, 10YR 5/1 gray; slip inside, mottled 10YR 4/2 dark grayish brown and 10YR 3/1 very dark gray; slip outside, 10YR 4/2 dark grayish brown; 17 cm diameter

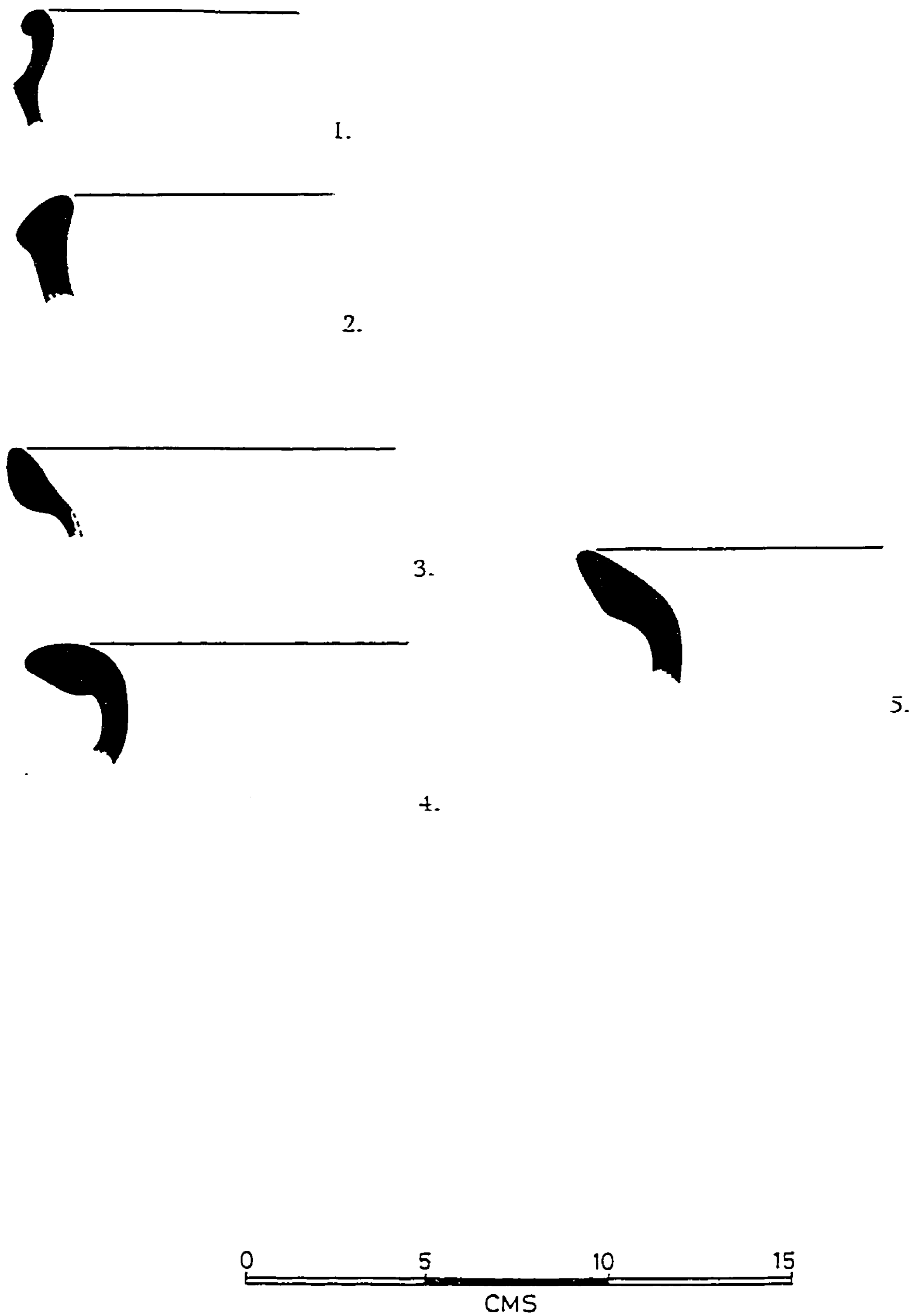



Figure 8. Pottery, Narsitpur Dhoro (Shekh Pipariya village)

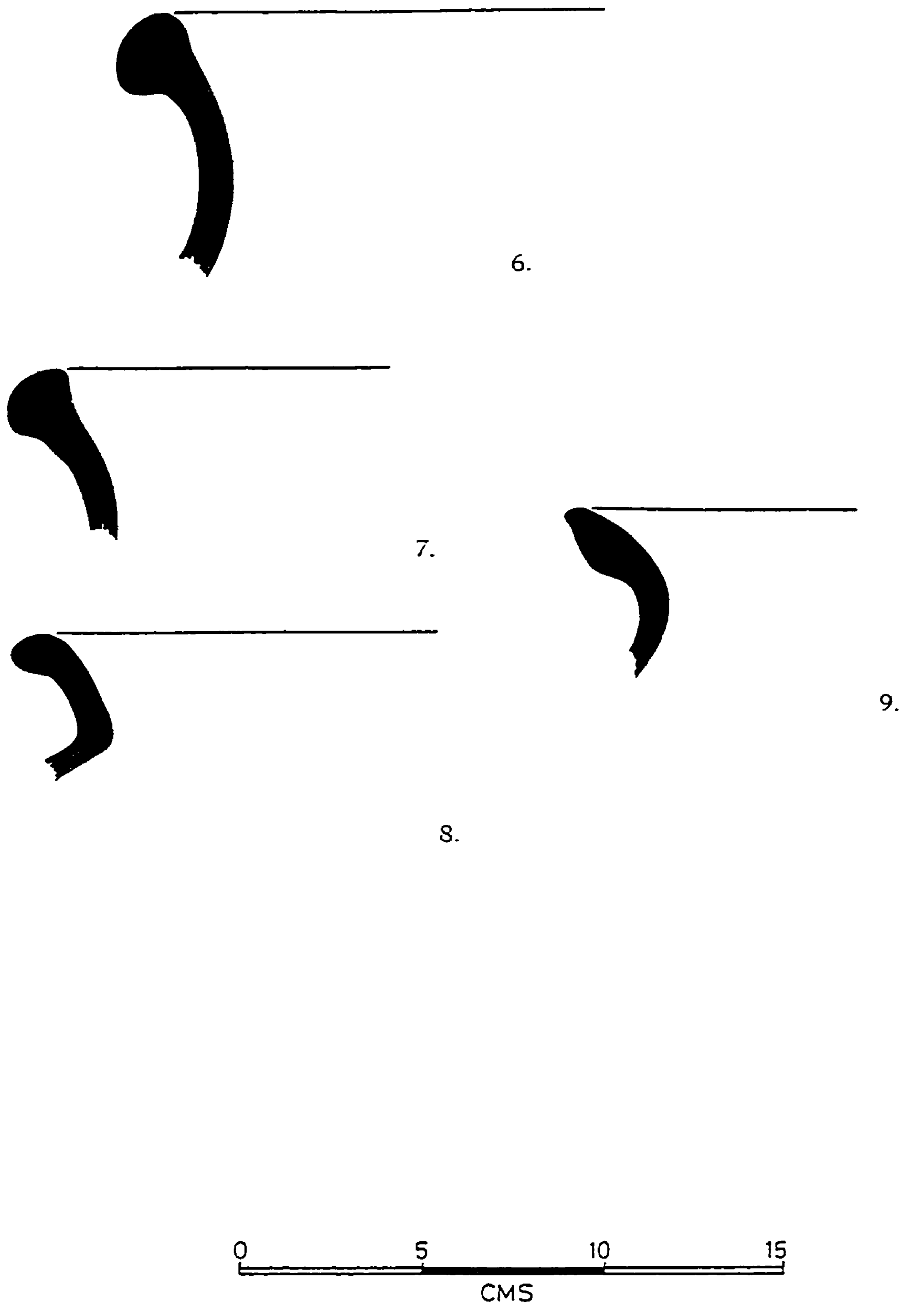



Figure 8. Pottery, Narsitpur Dhoro (Shekh Pipariya village), continued

Adtala (village)
Boriya (site)
site size: 93 x 81 meters
RPW occupation

See Figure 9:

1. RPW; fine fabric, 2.5YR 6/9 light red; burnished/polished slip inside and out, 2/5YR 5/8 red; 20 cm diameter

2. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 6/4 light brown; burnished slip inside and out, 2.5YR 4/8 red; 16 cm diameter

3. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 5/6 strong brown; slip inside and out, 10R 5/6, burnished outside; 16 cm diameter

4. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 6/6 reddish yellow, with dark core; burnished slip inside and out, 5YR 4/6 yellowish red; 20 cm diameter

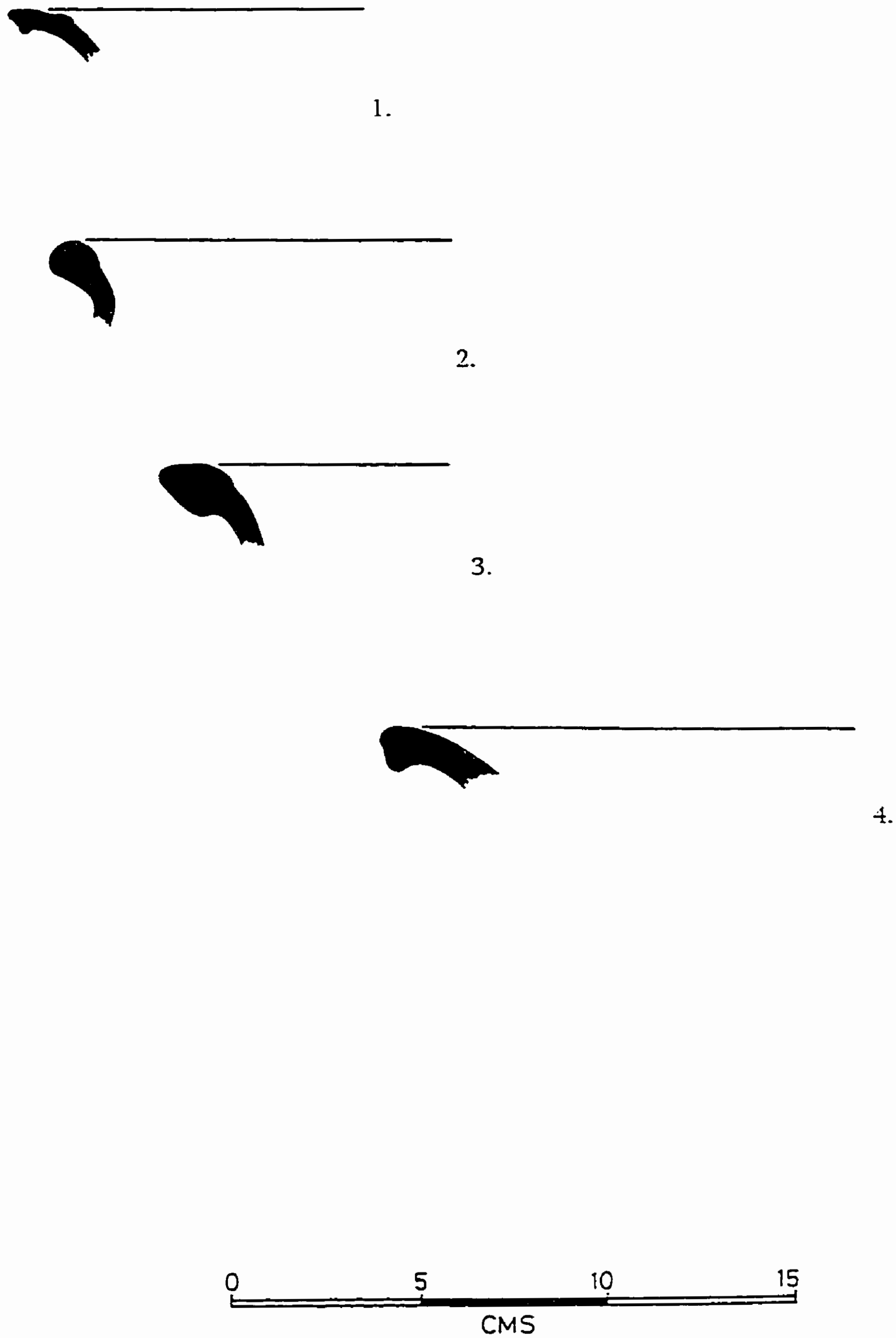



Figure 9. Pottery, Boriya (Adtala village)

Rampar (village)
[no site name]
RPW, LH occupation

See Figure 10:

1. RPW; fine fabric, 2.5YR 5/6 red; slip outside, 2.5YR 5/6 red; inner surface, 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow; 18 cm diameter

2. RPW-associated red ware; medium with sand temper, 5YR 4/6 yellowish red; slip outside and over rim, 2.5YR 4/4 reddish brown; inner surface 5YR 5/6 yellowish red

3. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand temper, 7.5YR 5/4 brown; burnished slip inside and out, 10R 4/6 red; 18 cm diameter

4. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 5YR 6/4 light reddish brown and 5YR 3/1 very dark gray; burnished slip inside and out, 2.5YR 5/6 red; 19 cm diameter

5. RPW-associated gray ware; medium fabric with sand temper, 7.5YR 4/0 dark gray; burnished slip body outside, 5YR 4/3 reddish brown; burnished slip outer rim, 5YR 3/1 very dark gray; burnished slip inside, 7.5YR 4/2 dark brown; 18 cm diameter

6. RPW-associated gray ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 4/0 dark gray; slip outside, 10YR 5/1 gray; burnished slip inside 7/5YR 3/0 very dark gray; 14 cm diameter

7. Late Historic red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 5YR 5/6 yellowish red, with dark core; burnished slip inside and out, 10R 4/6; 24 cm diameter

8. Late Historic red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow; slip outside burnished on rim, 2.5YR 5/6 red; burnished slip inner rim 2.5YR 5/4 reddish brown; slip inside, 7.5YR 5/4 brown; 16 cm diameter

9. Late Historic red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 5YR 5/6 yellowish red, with dark core; burnished slip inside and out, 10R 4/6; 24 cm diameter

10. Late Historic red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 6/6 reddish yellow, with dark core; burnished slip inside and out, 2.5YR 5/4 reddish brown; 16 cm diameter

11. Late Historic gray ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 10YR 5/2 grayish brown, with dark core; burnished slip inside and out, 10YR 4/2 dark grayish brown; 18 cm diameter

12. Late Historic gray ware; medium fabric with sand temper, 10YR 5/2 grayish brown, with dark core; burnished slip inside and out, 7.5YR 3/0 very dark gray; 22 cm diameter

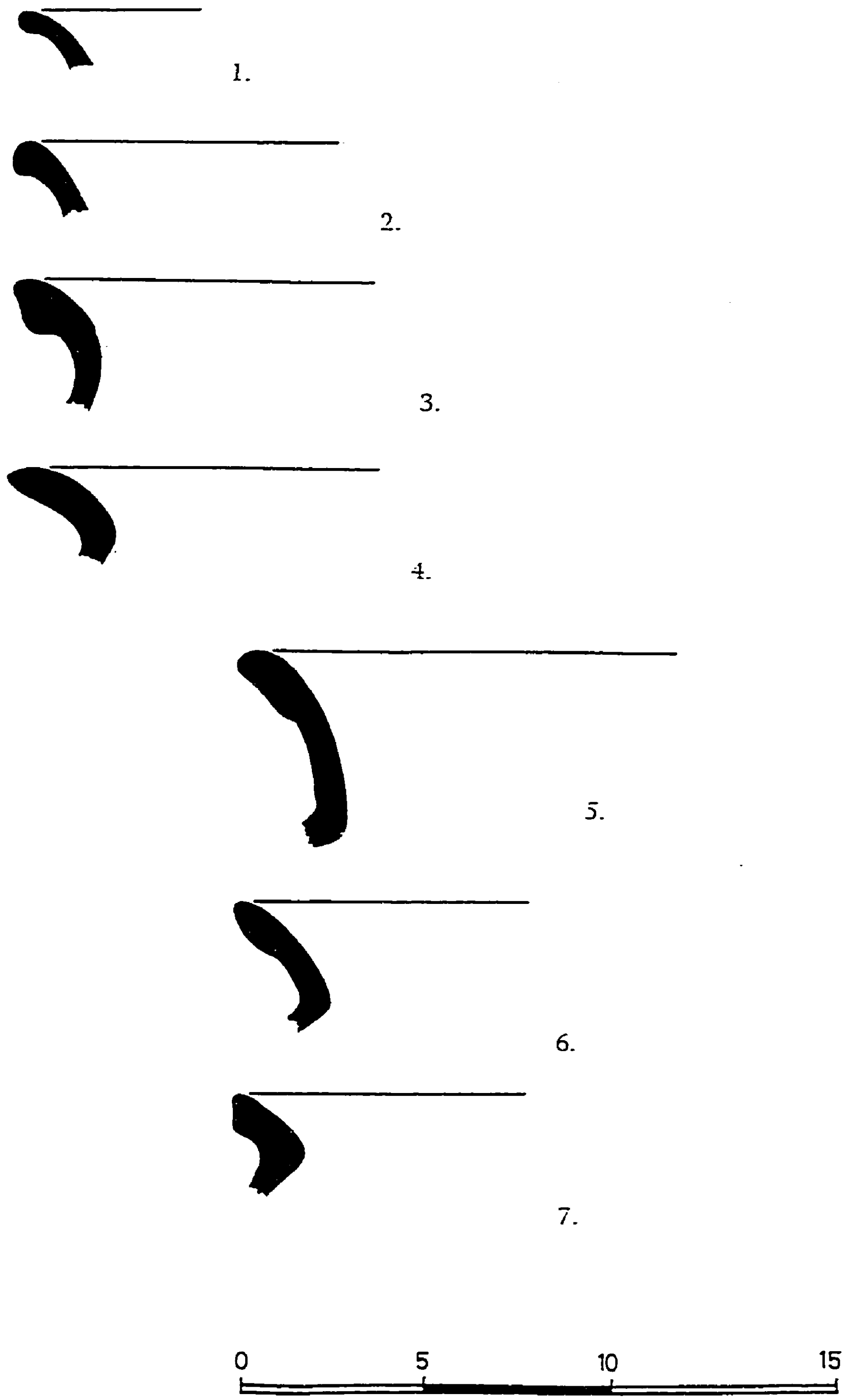



Figure 10. Pottery, Rampar village [no site name]

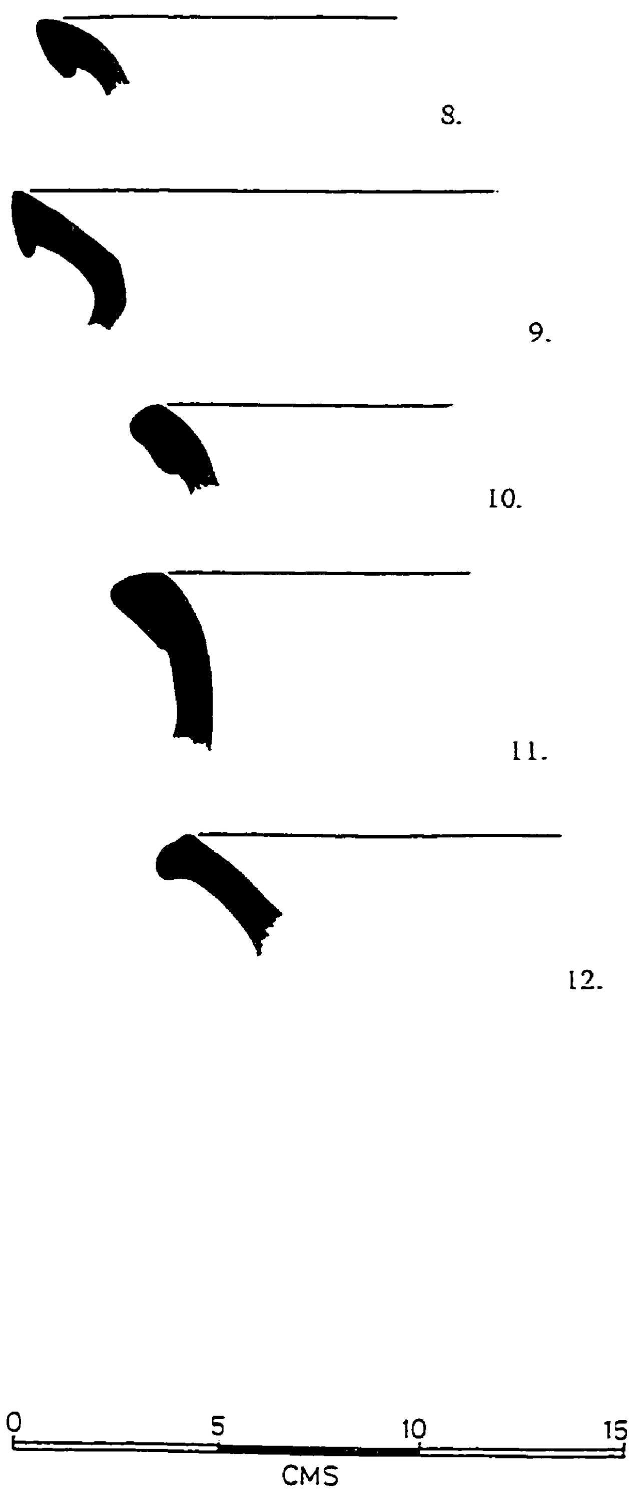



Figure 10. Pottery, Rampar village [no site name], continued

Karkoliya (village)
Gohil no Dhoro (site)
site size: 104 x 77 meters
RPW occupation

See Figure 11:

1. RPW-associated red ware (water-rolled); fine fabric, 5YR 6/8 reddish yellow, with dark core; surface inside and out 5YR 6/8 reddish yellow; 16 cm diameter

2. RPW-associated red ware; fine fabric, 7.5YR 5/4 brown, with dark core; burnished slip inside, mottled 10YR 6/4 light yellowish brown and 7/5YR 5/6 strong brown; burnished slip outside, 2.5YR 4/8 red; 10 cm diameter

3. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand temper, 7.5YR 5/6 strong brown, with dark core; burnished slip inside and out, 2.5YR 4/8 red; 18 cm diameter

4. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand temper, 5YR 5/4 reddish brown, with dark core; burnished slip inside and out, 2.5YR 4/8 red; 24 cm diameter

5. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 6/6 reddish yellow; burnished slip inside and out, 2.5YR 4/8 red; 20 cm diameter

6. RPW-associated red ware; coarse fabric with coarse sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 5/4 brown; surface inside and out, 7.5YR 5/4 brown; 12 cm diameter

7. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand temper, 2.5YR 4/4 reddish brown; slip inside and out 2.5YR 4/4 reddish brown; 20 cm diameter

8. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 5YR 5/4 reddish brown; slip inside and out, 5YR 5/4 reddish brown; 26 cm

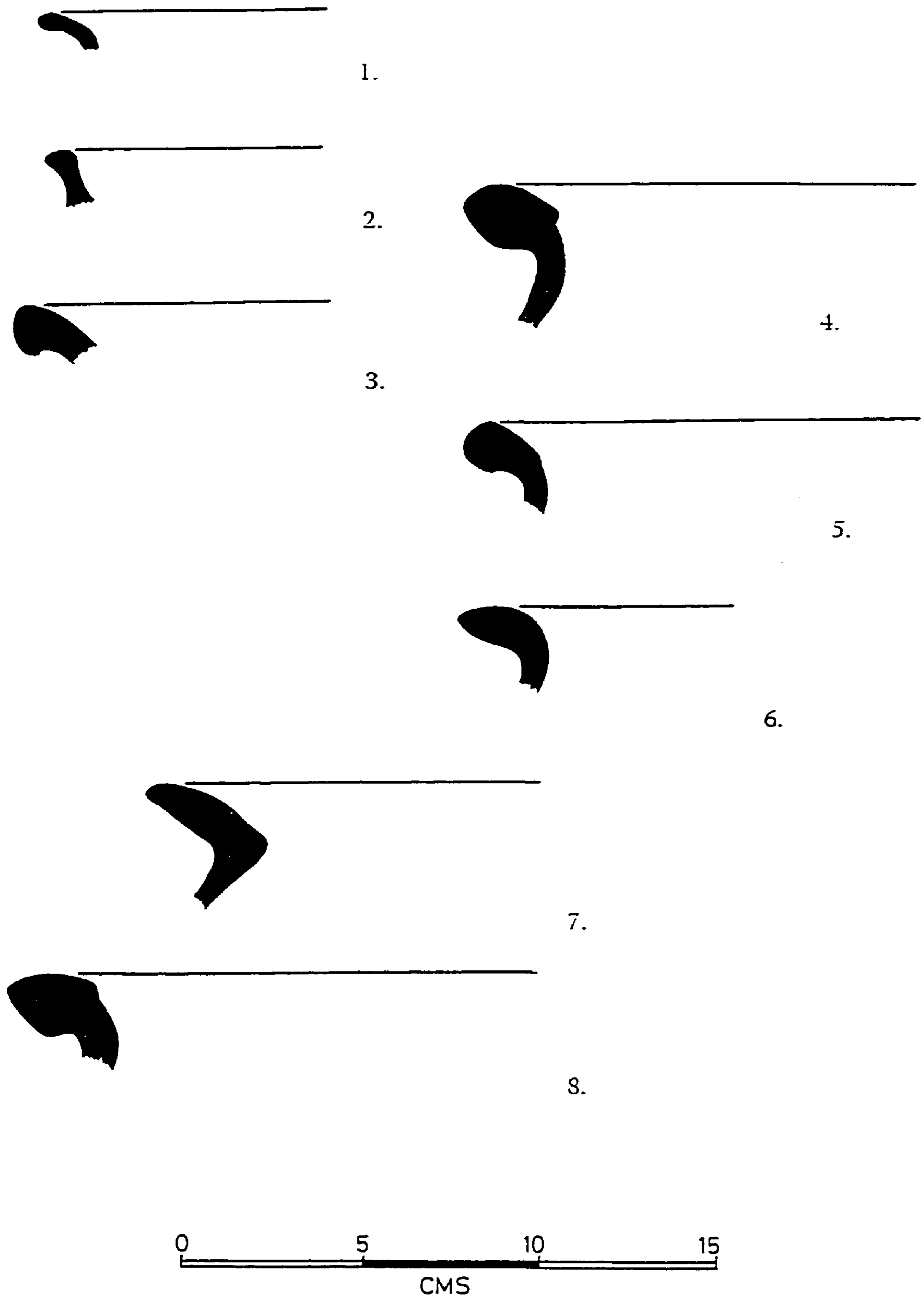



Figure 11. Pottery, Gohil no Dhoro (Karkoliya village)

Chavand (village)
Garani (site)
RPW occupation

See Figure 12:

1. RPW; fine fabric 2.5YR 5/6 red, with dark core; burnished slip inside and out, 2.5YR 5/8 red; 14 cm diameter

2. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 5/4 brown; burnished slip inside and out, 2.5YR 4/4 reddish brown; 15 cm diameter

3. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 5YR 4/4 reddish brown, dark core; slip inside and outer body, 2.5YR 4/4 reddish brown; outer rim surface, 5YR 5/4 reddish brown; 15 cm

4. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 5/4 brown; slip outside, 2.5YR 5/6 red; burnished slip inside, 2.5YR 4/4 reddish brown; 14 cm diameter

5. RPW-associated gray ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 10YR 3/2 very dark grayish brown, with dark core; slip outer body, 7.5YR 4/2 dark brown; inner surface and outer rim, 10YR 4/2 dark grayish brown; 16 cm diameter

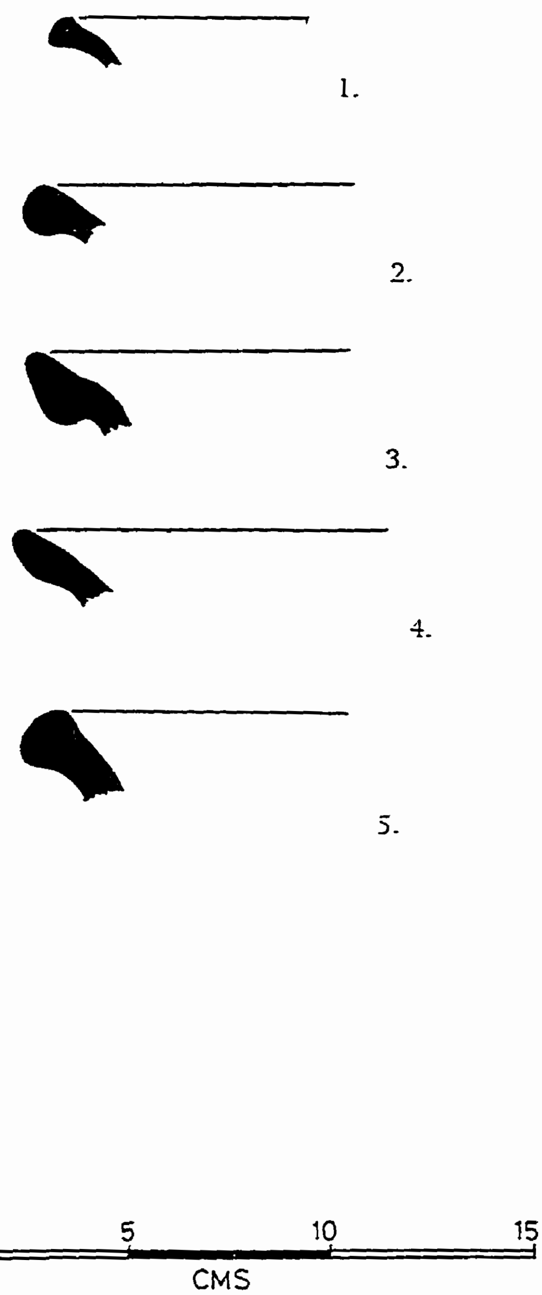



Figure 12. Pottery, Garani (Chavand village)

Karkoliya (village)
(no site name; site is approximately 1.5 kms southwest of village)
Recent occupation

Krushnagadh (village)
Hadmatiya no Dhoro (site; approximately .75 kms northeast of village)
site size: 116 x 145 meters
Probably historic period occupations, but periods undetermined. Surface sherds are few and very worn.

Akala village
Habari no Dhoro (site; approximately 2 kms southwest of village)
site size: 16 x 16 meters
Recent occupation

**KUNKVAV Taluka**
Lunidhar (village)
Rupavati no Dhoro (site)
site size: 145 x 35 meters
RPW, LH, Recent occupation

See Figure 13:

1. RPW-associated red ware; fine fabric, 5YR 6/4 light reddish brown, with dark core; slip inside and out, 2.5YR 5/6 red; 12 cm diameter

2. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand temper, 7.5YR 4/6 strong brown, with dark core; slip inside and out, 2.5YR 3/6 dark red; 20 cm diameter

3. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 6/4 light brown, with dark core; slip outside (body only) and inside, 10R 5/6; 20 cm diameter

4. Late Historic red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 5/4 brown; slip inside 7.5YR 6/4 light brown; outer surface, 7.5YR 5/4 light brown; 16 cm diameter

5. Late Historic red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 6/4 light brown; slip inside, 2.5YR 5.8 red; slip outside, 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow; 12 cm diameter

6. Late Historic red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 5/4 brown; burnished slip inside and out, mottled 5YR 5/4 reddish brown and 2/5YR 4/4 reddish brown; 24 cm diameter

7. Late Historic red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 5YR 5/6 yellowish red; burnished slip inside and out, 2.5YR 4/8 red; 18 cm diameter

8. Late Historic red ware, medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow, with dark core; burnished slip inside, 2.5YR 5/4 reddish brown; burnished slip outside, 2.5YR 4/8 red; 18 cm diameter

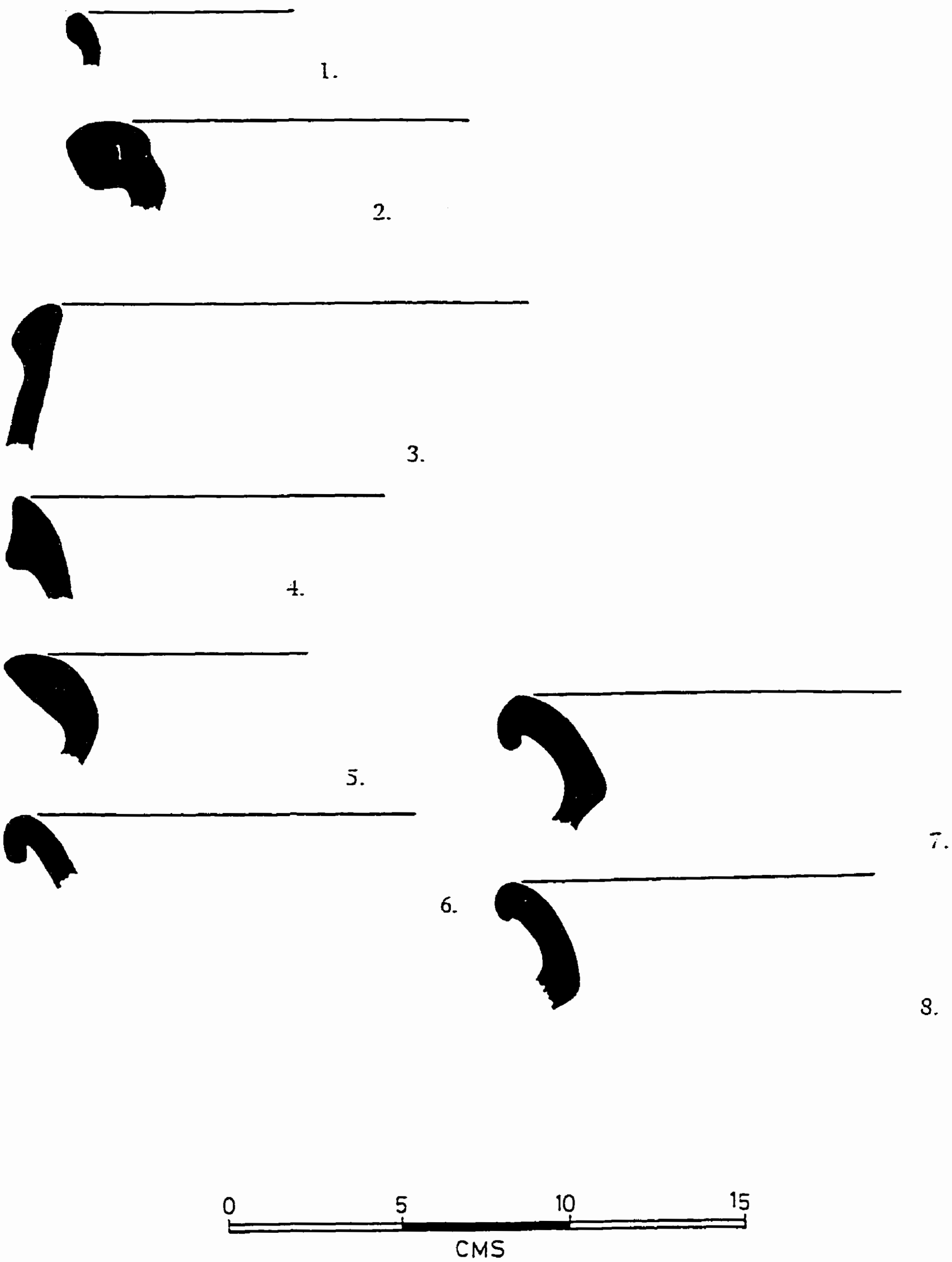



Figure 13. Pottery, Rupavati no Dhoro (Lunidhar village)

**BABRA Taluka**

Valardi (village)
Bhimpura Dhoro (site)
site size: 75 x 162 meters
RPW occupation

See Figure 14:

1. RPW; fine fabric, 2.5YR 5/6 red; burnished slip inside and out, 10R 4/6 red; 18 cm diameter

2. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 6/4 light brown; burnished slip inside and out, 2.5YR 4/6 red; 16 cm diameter

3. RPW-associated red ware; coarse with sand temper, 5YR 5/4 reddish brown, with dark core; burnished slip inner body, 10YR 3/2 very dark grayish brown; burnished slip inside rim, 5YR 4/3 reddish brown; burnished slip outside, 2.5YR 4/6 red; 16 cm diameter

4. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 6/4 light brown, with dark core; slip inside and out, 2.5YR 5/6 red; 22 cm diameter

5. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand temper, 10YR 4/3 dark brown; slip inside, mottled 10YR 4/1 dark gray and 7.5YR 4/2 dark brown; burnished slip outside, mottled 7.5YR 3/2 dark brown and 5YR 4/3 reddish brown; 14 cm diameter

6. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand temper, 5YR 5/4 reddish brown, with dark core; slip inside and out, 2.5YR 4/6 red; 18 cm diameter

7. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 5YR 5/4 reddish brown; slip inside and out, 10R 4/4 weak red; 21 cm diameter

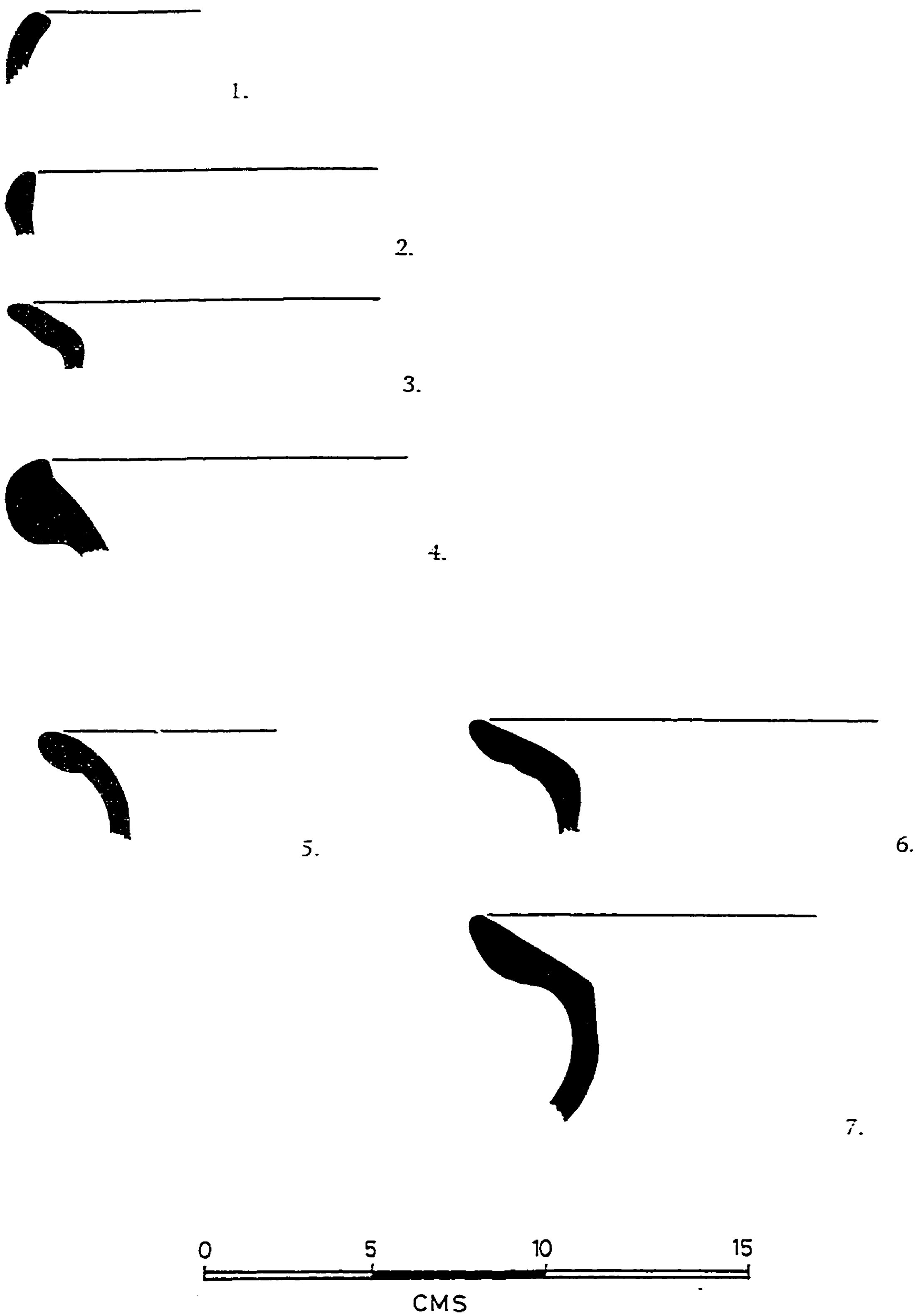



Figure 14. Pottery, Bhimpura Dhoro (Valardi village)

Bhildi (village)
Hanuman no Dhoro (site)
site size: 87 x 87 meters
RPW, LH occupation

See Figure 15:

1. RPW base; fine fabric, 2.5YR 5/6 red, with dark core; burnished slip inside and out, 2.5YR 4/8 red; 12 cm diameter

2. RPW base; fine fabric, 2.5YR 5/8 red, with dark core; burnished slip inside and out, 2.5YR 5/6 red; 10 cm diameter

3. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 5YR 5/4 reddish brown; burnished slip inside and out, 2.5YR 4/8 red; 16 cm diameter

4. Late Historic red ware; medium fabric with sand temper, 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow; inner surface, 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow; slip outer body, 5YR 5/3 reddish brown; slip outer rim, 2.5YR 5/6; 16 cm diameter

5. Late Historic red ware; medium fabric with sand temper, 5YR 5/4 reddish brown; slip inside and out, 5YR 6/4 light reddish brown; 10 cm diameter

6. Late Historic red ware, medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 5/2 brown; burnished slip inside and out, mottled 2.5YR 4/4 reddish brown and 2.5YR 4/6; 18 cm diameter

7. Late Historic red ware; coarse with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 6/4 light brown; slip inside and out, 2.5YR 5/6 red; 16 cm diameter

8. Late Historic gray ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 2/0 black; burnished slip inside and out, mottled 7.5YR 4/2 dark brown and 10YR 3/2 very dark grayish brown; 18 cm diameter

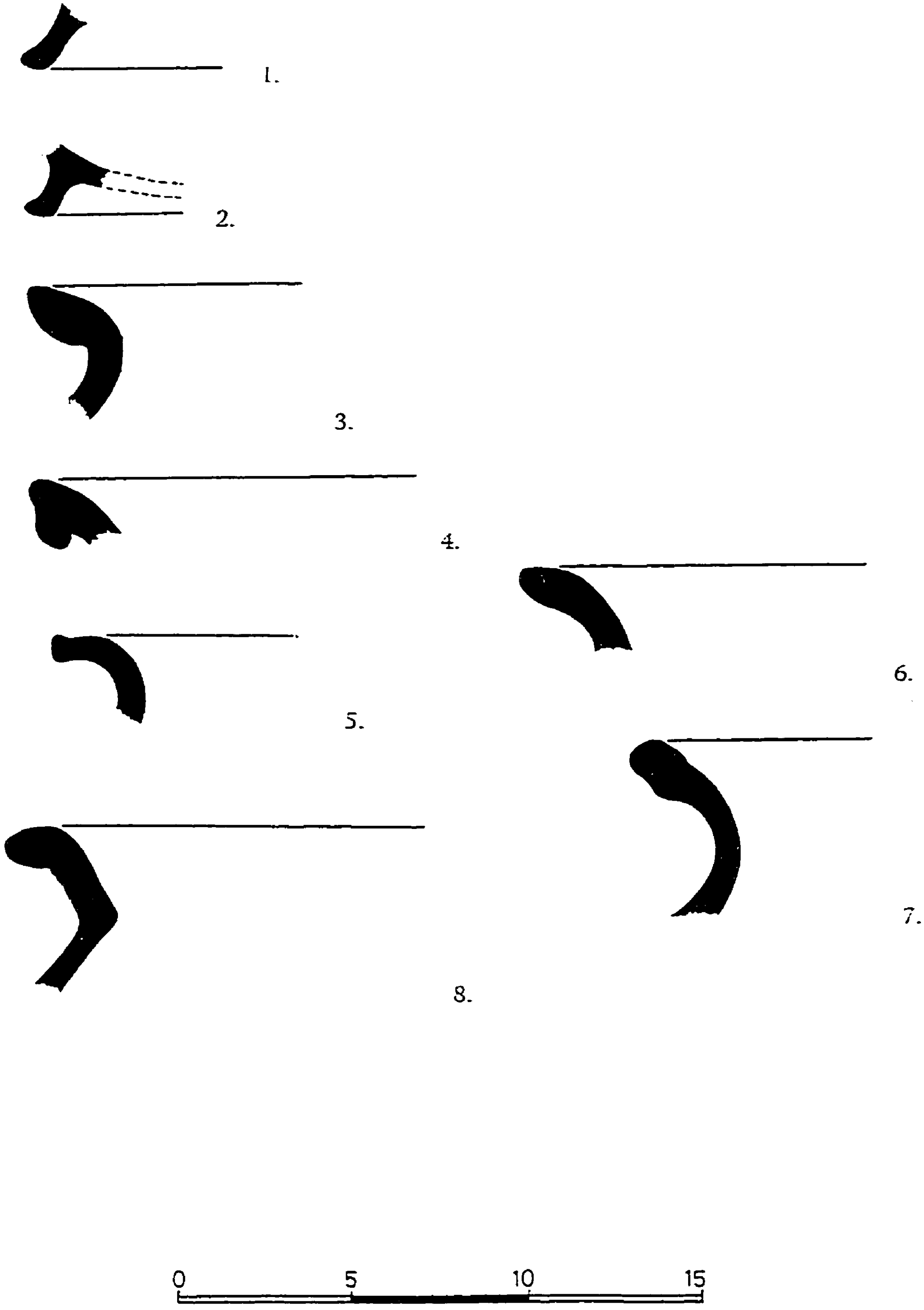



Figure 15. Pottery, Hanuman no Dhoro (Bhildi village)

Galkotdi (village)
Shipto no Dhoro (site)
site size: 162 x 174 meters
RPW, LH occupation

See Figure 16:

1. RPW; fine fabric, 2.5YR 5/6 red; burnished slip inside, 2.5YR 5/8 red; slip outside, 2.5YR 4/8 red; 18 cm diameter

2. RPW; fine fabric, 2.5YR 5/6 red; slip inside 2/5YR 4/8 red; burnished slip outside, 2.5YR 4/8 red; 12 cm diameter

3. RPW; fine fabric, 5YR 5/4 reddish brown; burnished slip inside and out, 2.5YR 5/6 red; 16 cm diameter

4. RPW; fine fabric, 2.5YR 6/6, light red; burnished slip inside, 2.5YR 5/6 red; slip outside, 10R 4/8 red; 10 cm diameter

5. Late Historic red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper; 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow, with dark core; inner surface, 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow; burnished slip outside and over rim, 10R 4/8 red; 24 cm diameter

6. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 10YR 4/2 dark grayish brown; inner surface 10YR 4/2 dark grayish brown; slip outside, 7.5YR 6/4 light brown; 18 cm diameter

7. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 5/4 brown; inner slip, mottled 7.5YR 5/4 brown and 7.5YR 4/2 dark brown; burnished slip outside and over rim, 2.5YR 5/6 red; 18 cm diameter

8. Late Historic gray ware; medium fabric with sand temper, 7.5YR 3/0 very dark gray; inner slip, 2.5YR 6/8 light red; burnished slip outside, 10R 4/6; two painted lines outside, 2.5YR 3/0 very dark gray; 8 cm diameter

9. RPW-associated gray ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 10YR 2/1 black; inner surface, 10YR 6/2; slip outside, mottled 10YR 6/3 pale brown; 10YR 6/3 pale brown, 10YR 5/4 yellowish brown, 10YR 3/1 very dark gray; 18 cm diameter

10. RPW-associated gray ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 10YR 3/1 very dark gray; burnished slip inner rim, 5YR 5/4 reddish brown; inner body surface 10YR 5/2 grayish brown; burnished slip outside, 7.5YR 3/0 very dark gray; 18 cm diameter

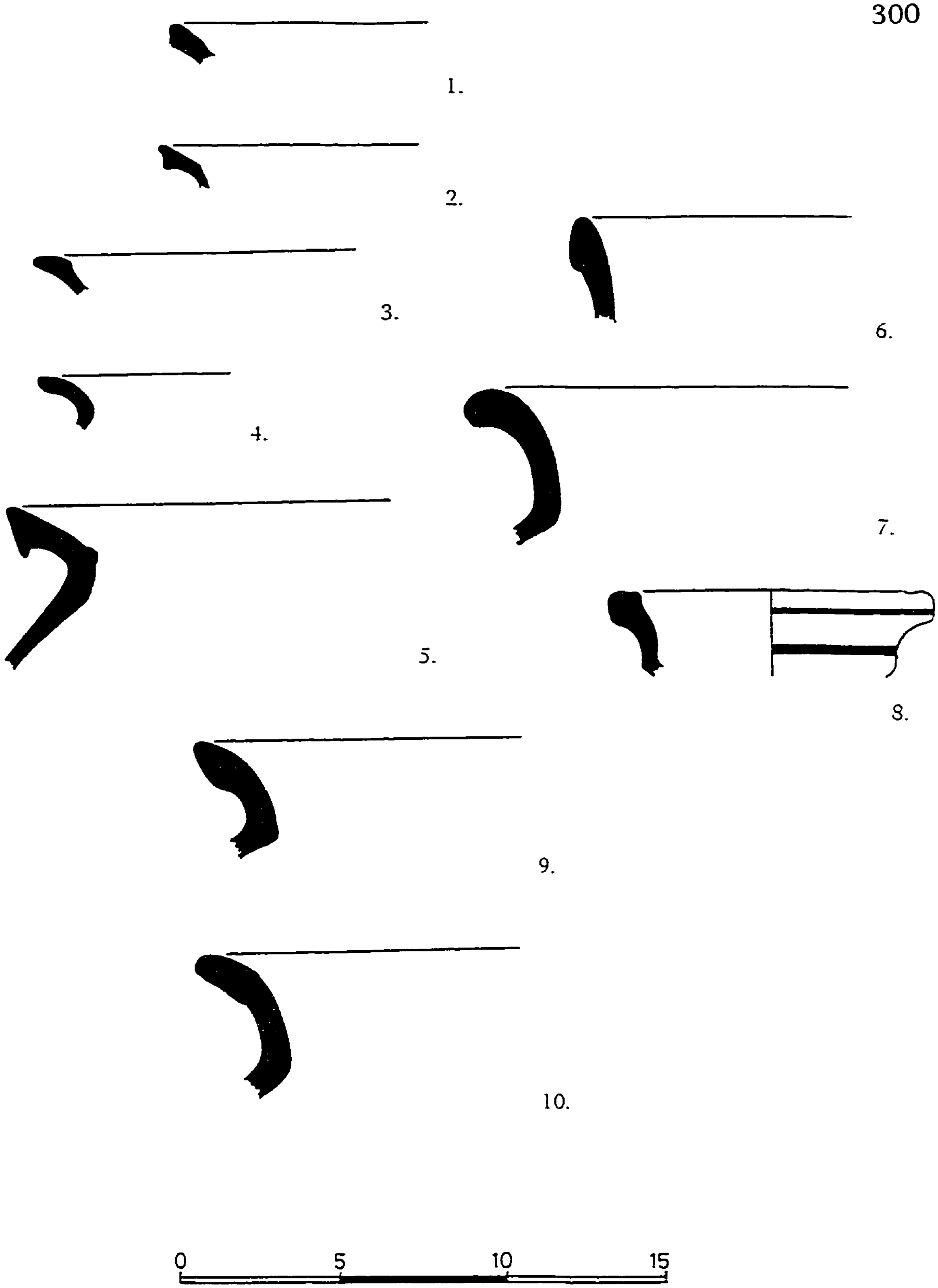



Figure 16. Pottery, Shipto no Dhoro (Galkotdi village)

Charkha (village)
(no site name)
site size: 50 x 90 meters
RPW occupation

See Figure 17:

1. RPW; fine fabric, 7.5YR 6/4 light brown; burnished slip inside and out, 10R 5/6 red; 7 cm diameter

2. RPW; fine fabric; burnished slip inside, 2.5YR 5/8 red; slip outside, 2.5YR 5/8 red; 10 cm diameter

3. RPW base; fine fabric, 2.5YR 6/6 light red; inner surface 2.5YR 6/6 light red; slip outside streaked 2.5YR 5/8 red and 2.5YR 5/6 red; 4 cm diameter

4. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow; burnished slip inner and outer rim, 10R 4/6 red; slip inside, 10R 4/3 weak red; slip outside, 10R 4/6 red; 14 cm diameter

5. RPW-associated red ware; coarse fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 6/4 light brown, with dark core; slip inside, 7.5YR 6/6 reddish yellow; burnished slip outside, 10R 5/6 red; 30 cm diameter

6. RPW-associated red ware; coarse fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 5YR 5/6 yellowish red, with dark core; slip inside and over rim, 10R 5/4 weak red; slip outside, 10R 5/6 red; 28 cm diameter

7. RPW-associated gray ware; medium fabric with sand temper, 7.5YR 2/0 black; slip inside, 10YR 5/1 gray; slip outside, burnished on rim, 10YR 4/1 dark gray; 18 cm diameter

8. RPW-associated gray ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 7.%YR 3/0 very dark gray; inner body surface, 7,5YR 3/0 very dark gray; slip outside and over rim, 10YR 4/1 dark gray; 16 cm diameter

9. RPW-associated gray ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 4/0 dark gray; slip inside and out, 7,5YR 6/6 reddish yellow; 20 cm diameter

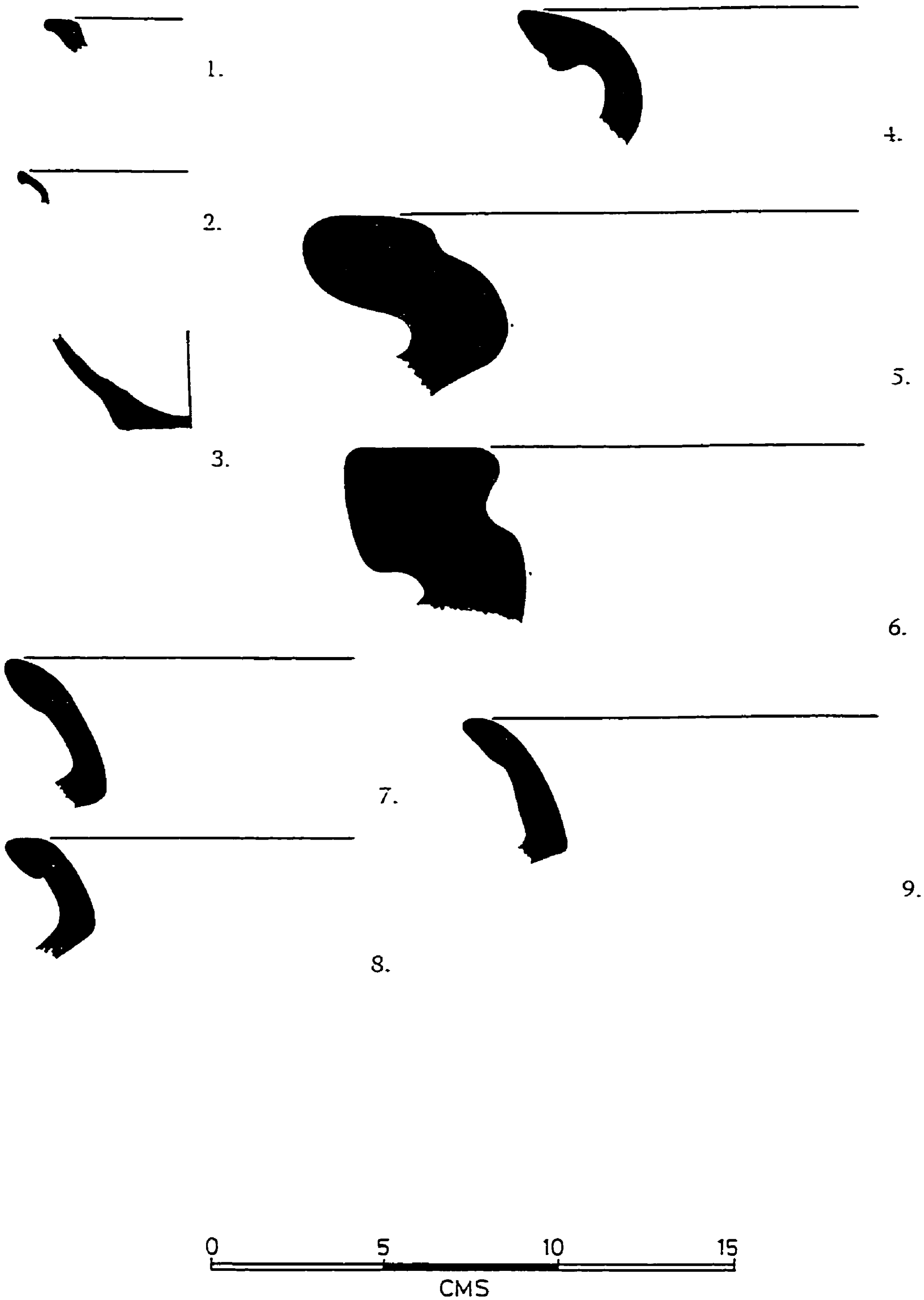



Figure 17. Pottery, Charkha village [no site name]

Ishvariya (village)
(no site name)
site size: 162 x 64 meters
RPW occupation

See Figure 18:

1. RPW base; fine fabric, 2.5YR 5/8 red; inner surface, 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow; slip outside 2.5YR 5/6 red; 6 cm diameter

2. RPW, black variety; fine fabric, 7.5YR 7/0 light gray; burnished slip inside and over rim, 7.5YR 3/0 very dark gray; outer surface, 10YR 6/1 gray; 8 cm diameter

3. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 5YR 5/4 reddish brown, with dark core; inner surface, 7.5YR 6/4 light brown; slip outside 2.5YR 4/4 reddish brown; 13 cm diameter

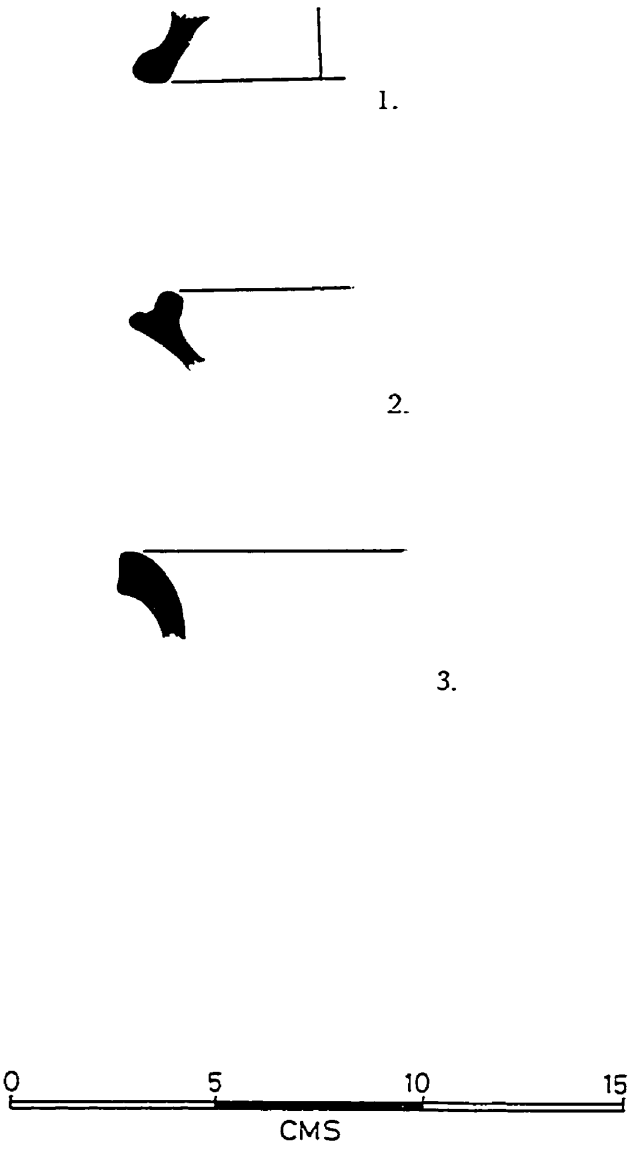



Figure 18. Pottery, Ishvariya village [no site name]

Untvad (village)
Phir no Dhoro (site)
site size: 128 x 145 meters
Rangpur II B-C, RPW occupation

See Figure 19:

1. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 2.5YR 6/6 light red, with dark core; inner surface, 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow; slip outside 2.5YR 5/6 red; 18 cm diameter

2. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 2.5YR 5/6 with dark core; inner surface, 5YR 5/6 yellowish red; slip outside, 2.5YR 5/6 red; 14 cm diameter

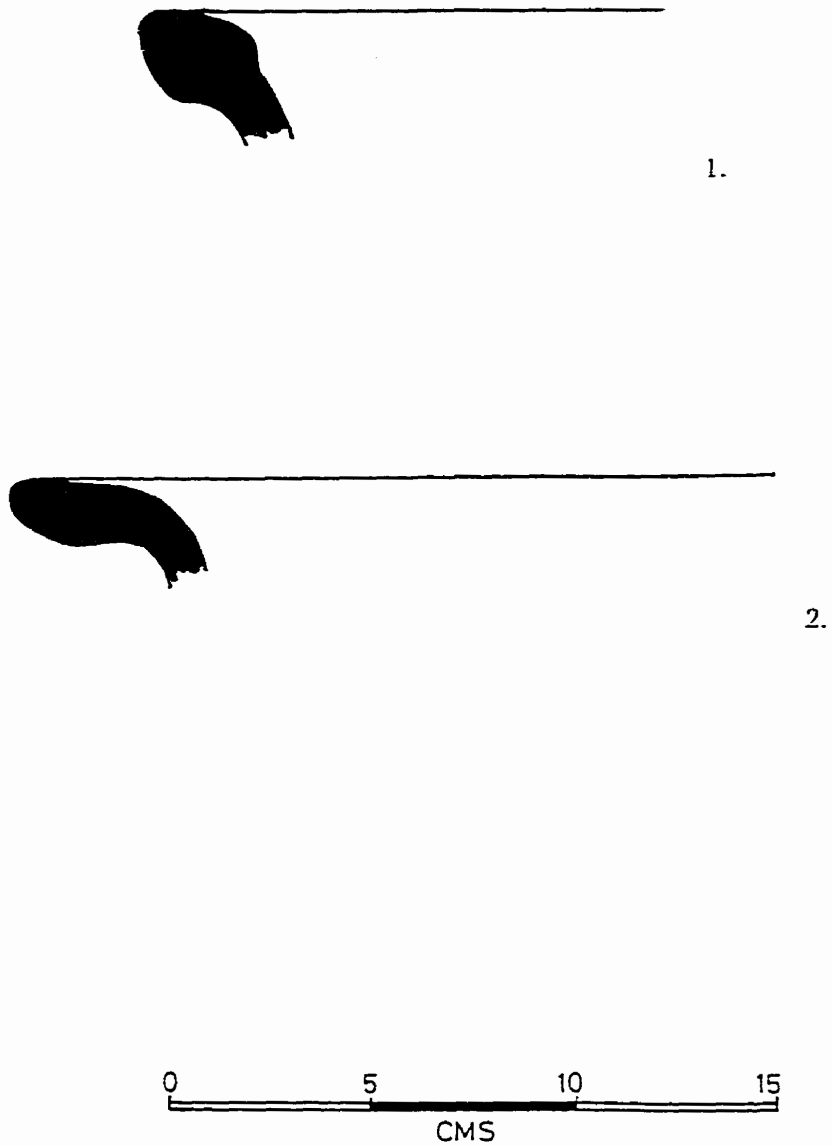



Figure 19. Pottery, Phir no Dhoro (Untvad village)

Kotda Pitha (village)
Babariya no Dhoro (site)
site size: 87 x 232 meters
RPW, LH occupation

See Figure 20:

1. RPW; fine fabric, 2.5YR 6/8 light red; slip inside and out, 2.5YR 5/8 red; 4 cm diameter

2. RPW; fine fabric, 2.5YR 5/8 red; burnished slip inside and out, 2.5YR 4/8 red; 16 cm diameter

3. RPW; fine fabric, 2.5YR 5/8 red; burnished slip inside and out, 2.5YR 4/6 red; 20 cm diameter

4. RPW-associated red ware, or possibly a variety of RPW, base; fine fabric with sand temper, 2.5YR 5/6 red; inner surface 5YR 6/8, reddish yellow; slip outside, 2.5YR 5/8 red; 6 cm diameter

5. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 10YR 5/3 brown; inner surface, 10YR 5/4 yellowish brown; burnished slip outside and over rim, 5YR 4/4 reddish brown; 20 cm diameter

6. RPW-associated gray ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 3/0 very dark gray; slip inside, 10YR 4/1 dark gray; slip outside, 10YR 4/2 dark grayish brown; 20 cm diameter

7. Late Historic gray ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 4/0 dark gray; burnished slip inside and out, 2.5YR 4/6 red; 20 cm diameter

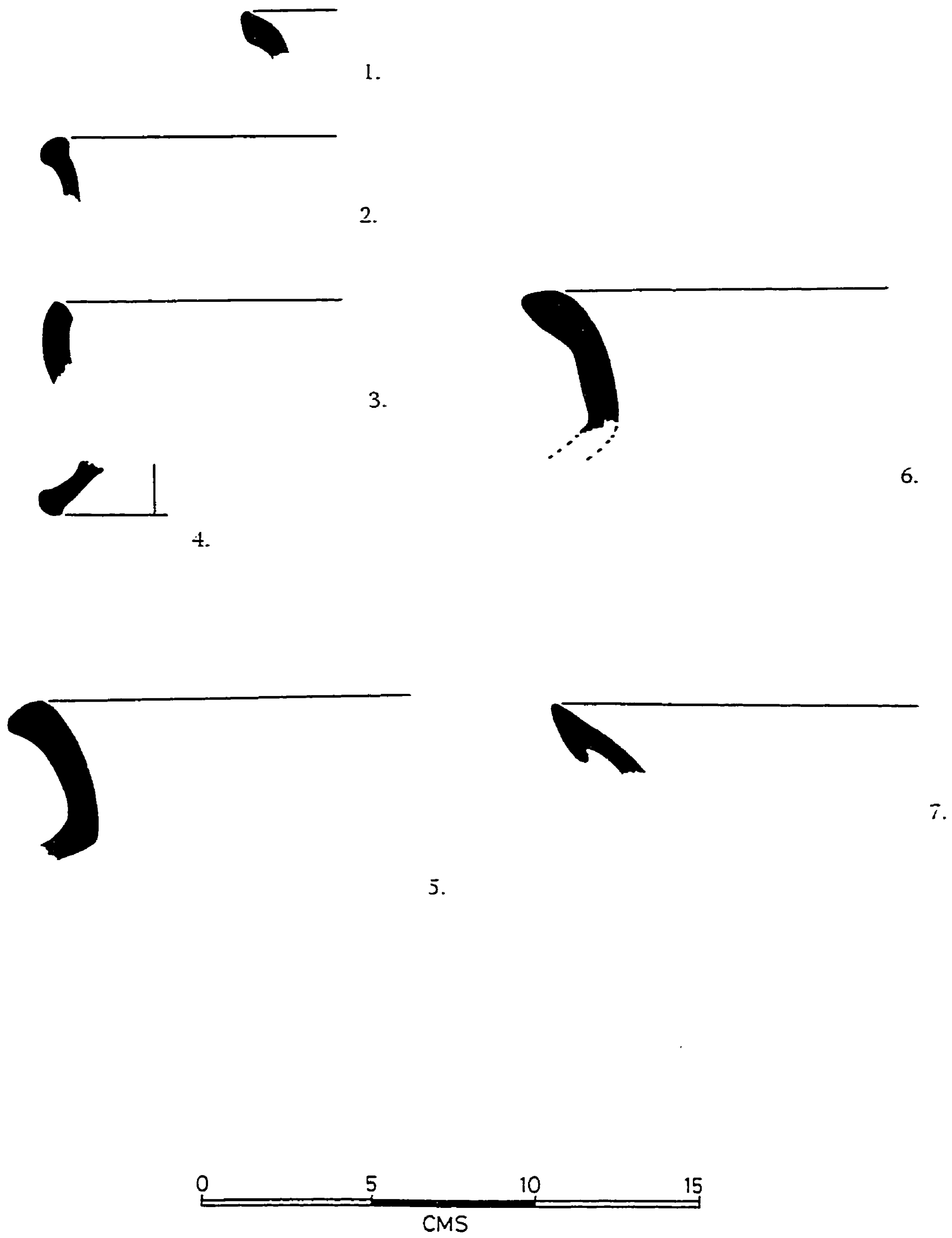



Figure 20. Pottery, Babariya no Dhoro (Kotda Pitha village)

Sukvada (village)
Mahadevia no Dhoro (site)
site size: 46 x 46 meters
RPW, LH occupation

See Figure 21:

1. RPW-associated red ware; fine fabric, 2.5YR 5/8 red; surface inside and out, 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow; 18 cm diameter

2. RPW-associated red ware; fine fabric, 5YR 5/8 yellowish red; inner surface, 5YR 5/6 yellowish red; slip outside, 2.5YR 4/6 red; 10 cm diameter

3. Late Historic gray ware; medium fabric with sand temper, 2.5YR 2/5 black; inner surface, 10R 5/4 weak red; one painted line inside; polished slip outside and over rim, 10R 4/8; three painted lines outside;14 cm diameter

4. RPW-associated gray ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 5YR 3/1 very dark gray; slip inside 7.5YR 5/4 brown; slip outside, 2.5YR 5/4 brown; 22 cm diameter

5. Late Historic red ware; medium fabric with sand temper, 7.5YR 6/6 reddish yellow; slip inside and out, burnished on rim, 2.5YR 4/8 red; 16 cm diameter

6. Late Historic red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 5YR 5/6 yellowish red; polished slip inside and out, 10R 4/8 red; 20 cm diameter

7. Late Historic red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 6/4 light brown; inner surface and rim, 7.5YR 6/6 reddish yellow; 20 cm diameter

8. Late Historic red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 10YR 5/4 yellowish brown; slip inside and out, 10YR 6/3 pale brown; incised decoration on outer rim; 24 cm diameter

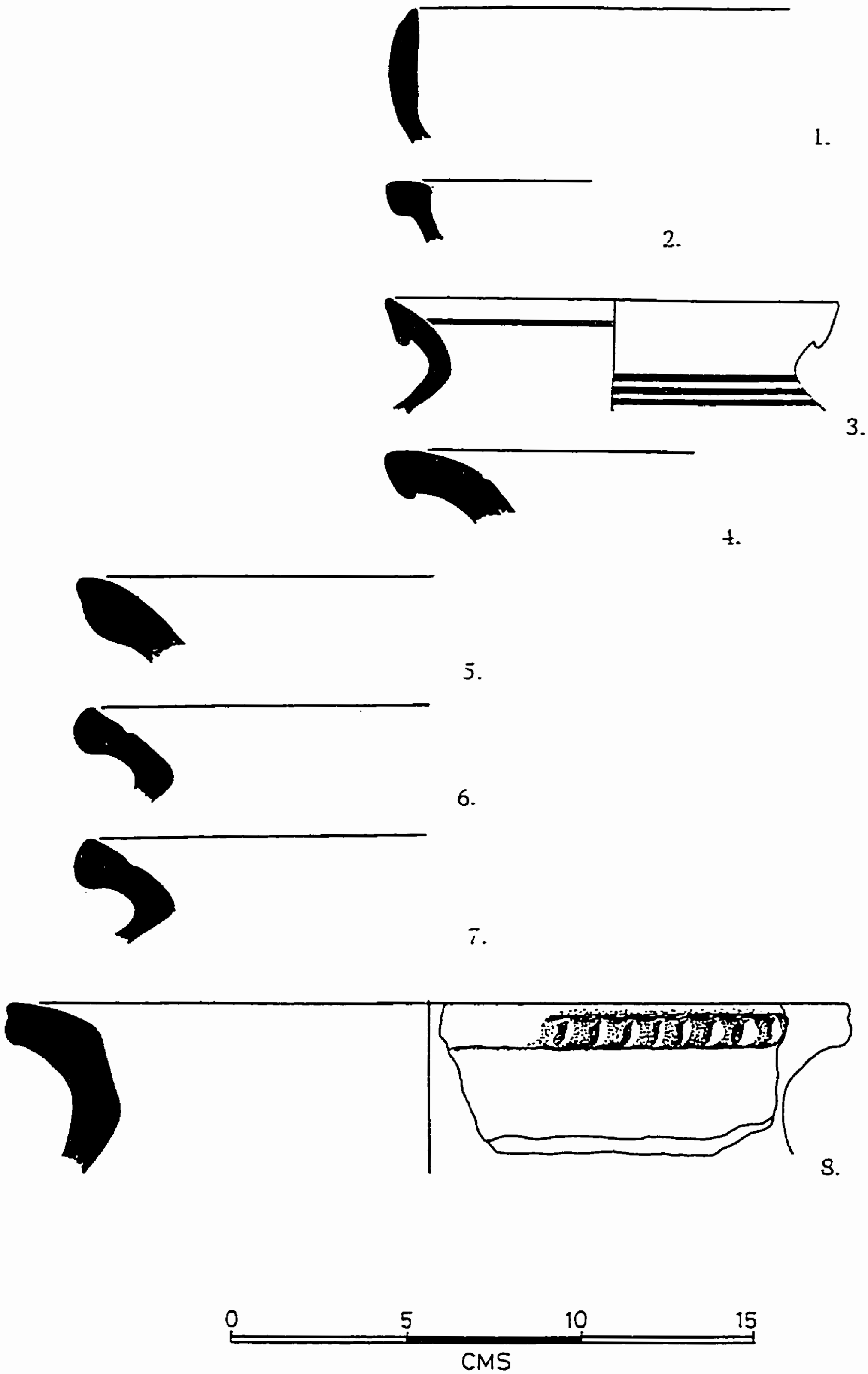



Figure 21. Pottery, Mahadevia no Dhoro (Sukvada village)

Barvala (village)
Belan no Dhoro (site)
site size: 154 x 67 meters
LH occupation

See Figure 22:

1. Late Historic red ware; medium fabric with sand temper, 7.5YR 6/6 reddish yellow; slip inside and out, 5YR 5/6 yellowish red; one painted line inside, below rim; three painted lines outside below rim; 10 cm diameter

2. Late Historic red ware; medium fabric with sand temper, 10YR 6/6 brownish yellow; inner and outer surface, 10YR 6/4 light yellowish brown; 10 cm diameter

3. Late Historic red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 5YR 5/6 yellowish red; burnished slip inside and out, 2.5YR 4/6 red; 18 cm diameter

4. Late Historic red ware; coarse with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 5/6, with dark core; burnished slip inside and out, 2.5YR 5/6 red; 32 cm diameter

5. Late Historic red ware; coarse with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 5/6 strong brown; burnished slip inside and out, 2.5YR 4/6 red; 20 cm diameter

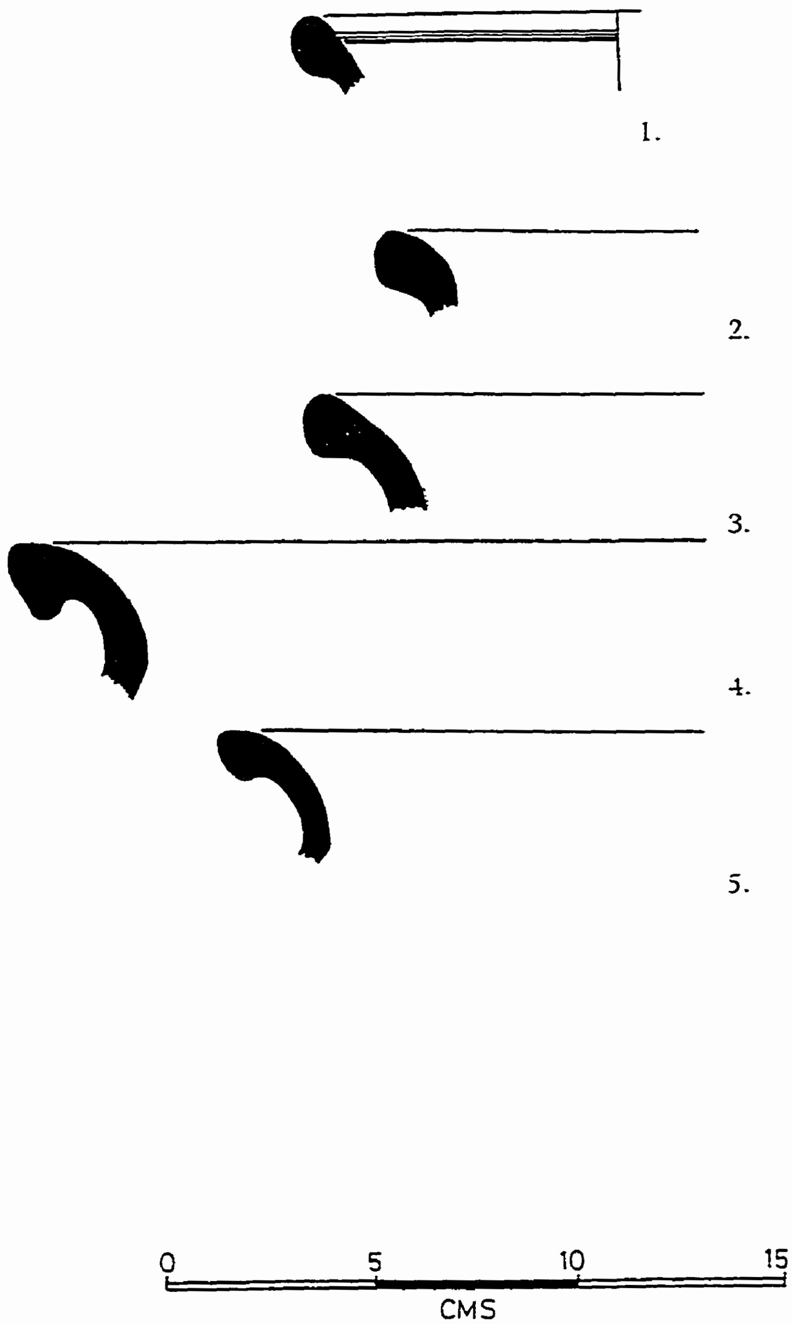



Figure 22. Pottery, Belan no Dhoro (Barvala village)

Barvala (village)
Nehur no Dhoro (I) (site)
site size: 174 x 110 meters
Rangpur II BC, RPW occupation

See Figure 23:

1. RPW; fine fabric, 5YR 5/8 yellowish red; inner surface, 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow; slip outside, 5YR 5/6 yellowish red; 18 cm diameter

2. RPW-associated red ware; fine fabric, 5YR 6/8 reddish yellow, with dark core; surface inside and out, 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow; burnished slip on top of rim, 2.5YR 5/6 red; 11 cm diameter

3. RPW-associated red ware; fine fabric with sand temper; 5YR 5/6 yellowish red; surface inside and out, 5YR 5/4 reddish brown; 8 cm diameter

4. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 5/4 brown; burnished slip inside, 2.5YR 4/4 reddish brown; burnished slip outside, 2.5YR dark reddish brown; 25 cm diameter

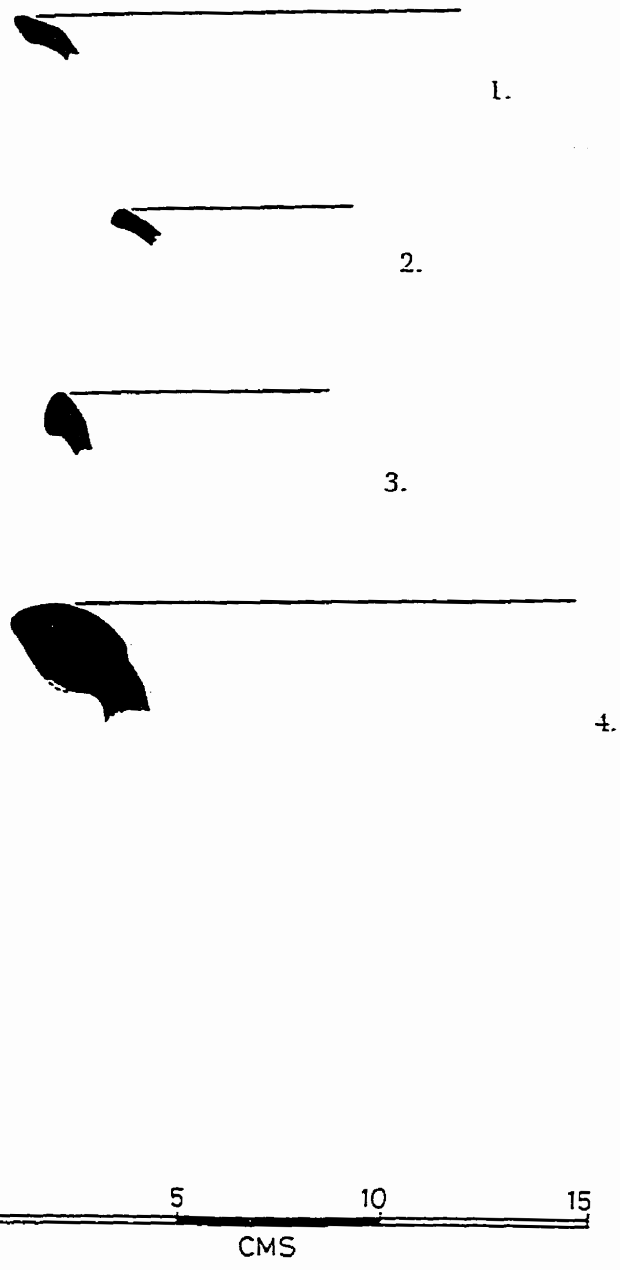



Figure 23. Pottery, Nehur no Dhoro (I) (Barvala village)

Barvala (village)
Nehur no Dhoro (II) (site)
site size: 261 x 87 meters
RPW occupation

See Figure 24:

1. RPW; fine fabric, 2.5YR 5/6 red, with dark core; burnished slip inside and out, 2.5YR 5/6 red; 14 cm diameter

2. RPW; fine fabric, 5YR 5/6 yellowish red; inner surface, 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow; slip outside, 2.5YR 6/8 light red; 18 cm diameter

3. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 5YR 4/3 reddish brown; burnished slip inside and out, 10R 5/6 red; 16 cm diameter

4. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with vegetable temper, 5YR 5/4 reddish brown; inner surface, 5YR 6/4 light reddish brown; slip outside, 2.5YR 5/6 red; 14 cm diameter

5. RPW-associated red ware; coarse with sand and vegetable temper, 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow, with dark core; slip inside and out, 5YR 4/3 reddish brown; 20 cm diameter

6. RPW-associated red ware; coarse with sand temper, 5YR 5/4 reddish brown; inner surface, 5YR 5/4 reddish brown; slip outside, 2.5YR 4/4 reddish brown; 18 cm diameter

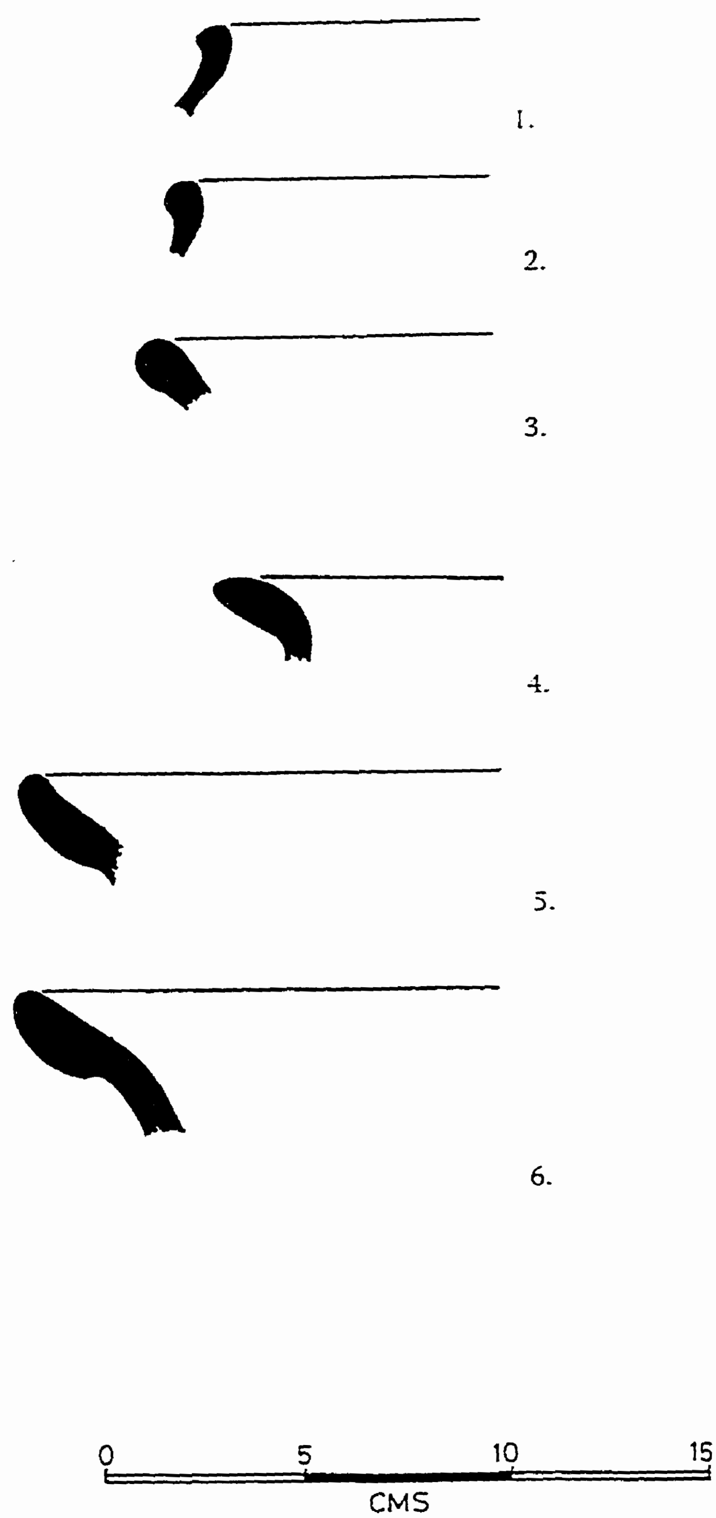



Figure 24. Pottery, Nehur no Dhoro (II) (Barvala village)

Barvala (village)
Orino no Timbo (site; is approximately 1 km southeast of village)
site size: 60 x 138 ms
Rangpur II BC occupation

Dharai (village)
Bodio no Dhoro (site)
site size: 197 x 139 meters
Rangpur II B-C, RPW occupation

See Figure 25:

1. RPW; fine fabric, 7.5YR 6/6 reddish yellow; burnished slip inside and out, 2.5YR 4/6 red; 16 cm diameter

2. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 5YR 4/3 reddish brown, with dark core; burnished slip inside and out, 5YR 4/4 reddish brown; 16 cm diameter

3. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 5YR 5/6 yellowish red, with dark core; burnished slip inside and out, 2.5YR 4/6 red; 20 cm diameter

4. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 2.5YR 5/8 red, with dark core; surface inside and out, 2.5YR 5/4 reddish brown; 22 cm diameter

5. RPW-associated gray ware; medium fabric with sand temper, 2.5YR 3/0 very dark gray; burnished slip on inside neck, 2.5YR 4/4 reddish brown; burnished slip outside, over rim, inner lip, 2.5YR 4/6 red

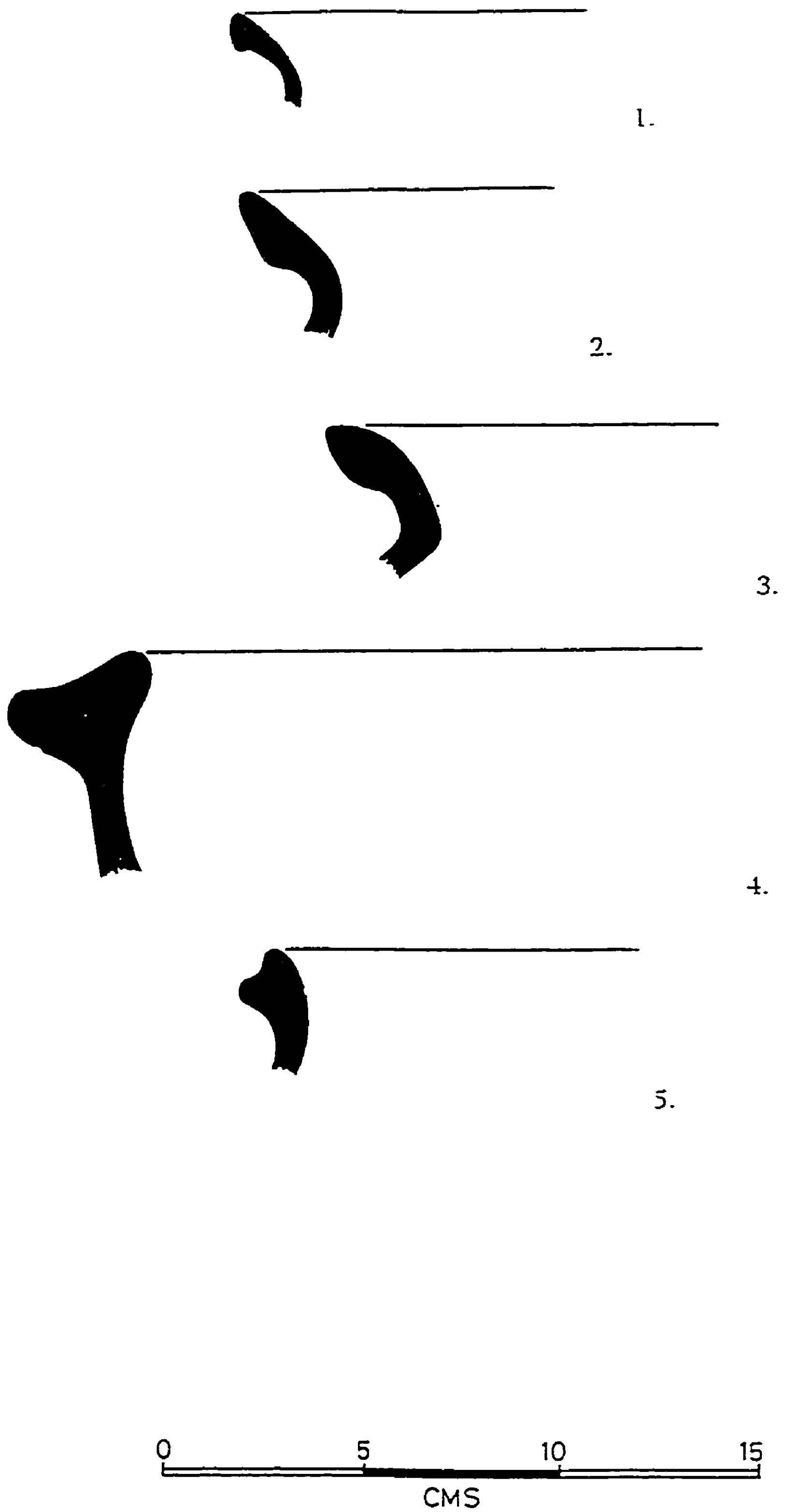



Figure 25. Pottery, Bodio no Dhoro (Dharai village)

Dhared (village)
Mahadev no Timbo (site; is approximately 1 km southeast of village)
site size: 41 x 232 meters
Rangpur II BC occupation

Nilvada (village)
(no site name; site is approximately 2 kms west of Taivadar village)
site size: 75 x 70 meters
Rangpur II BC occupation

Khambhala (village)
(no site name; site is approximately 1.3 kms southwest of village)
site size: 203 x 97 meters
Rangpur II BC occupation

Vankiya (village)
Lakhavar no Dhoro (site; is approximately 1.5 kms northeast of village)
site size: 247 x 350 meters
Rangpur II BC occupation

**AMRELI Taluka**

Suragpur (village)
Sati no Dhoro (site)
site size: 116 x 52 meters
RPW, recent occupation

See Figure 26:

1. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 5/4 brown; burnished slip inside and out, 10R 5/6 red; 16 cm diameter

2. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 5/6 strong brown, with dark core; burnished slip inside and out, 2.5YR 5/8 red; 26 cm diameter

3. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 2.5YR 6/6 light red; burnished slip inside and out, 10R 4/8 red; 16 cm diameter

4. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 10YR 4/4 dark yellowish brown, with dark core; slip inside and out, 2.5YR 5/6 red; 24 cm diameter

5. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 2.5YR 6/6 light red, with dark core; slip inside and out, 10R 5/8 red; 26 cm diameter

6. RPW-associated gray ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 2/0 black; burnished slip inside and out, mottled 7.5YR 3/0 very dark gray and 10YR 4/2 dark grayish brown; 14 cm diameter

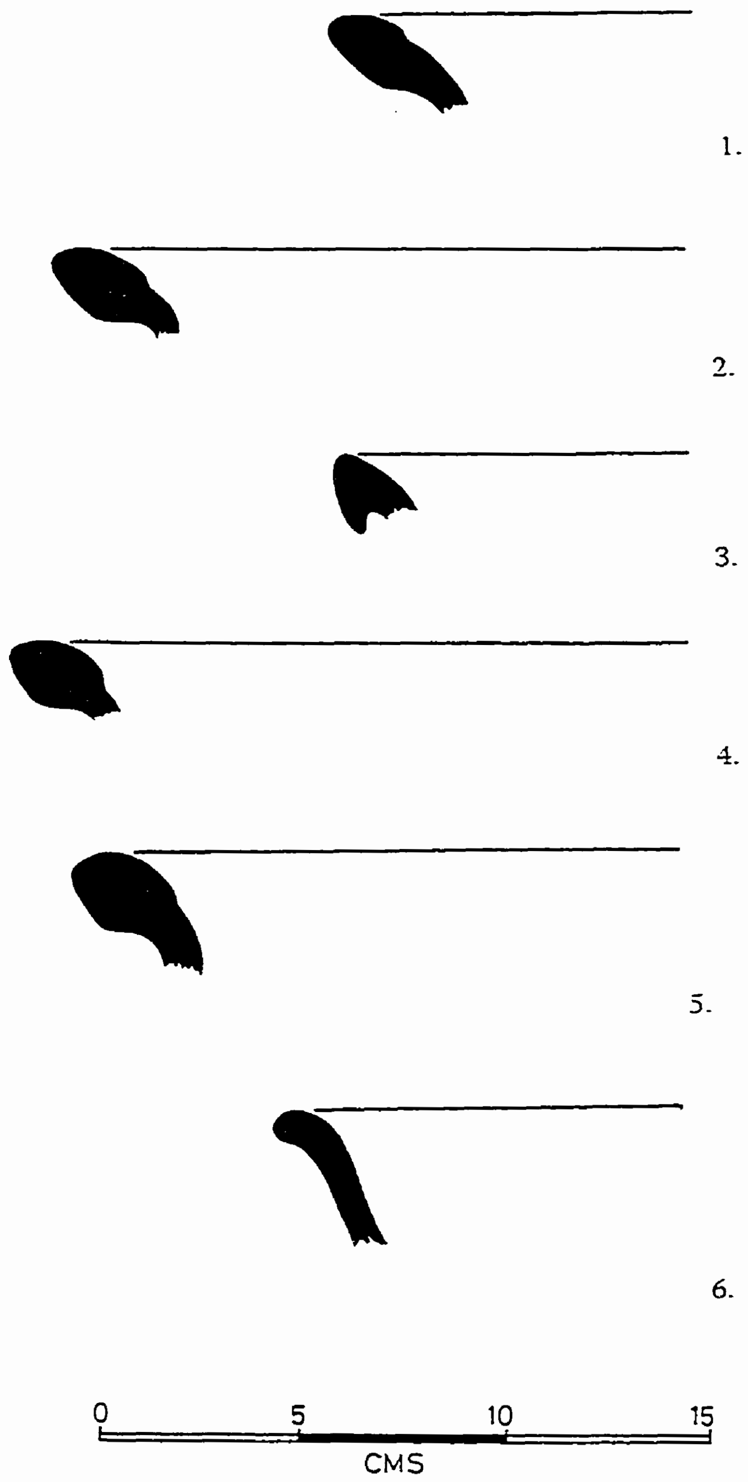



Figure 26. Pottery, Sati no Dhoro (Suragpur village)

Khijadiya Radadiya (village)
Bhutra no Dhoro (site)
site size: 87 x 87 meters
LH, recent occupation

See Figure 27:

1. Late Historic red ware; medium fabric with sand temper, 7.5YR 5/4 brown; surface inside and out, 7.5YR 6/4 light brown; 10 cm diameter

2. Late Historic red ware; medium fabric with sand temper, 7.5YR 5/4 brown; surface inside and out, 7.5YR 6/4 light brown

3. Late Historic red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 5YR 5/6 yellowish red; slip inside, 2.5YR 4/6 red; burnished slip outside, 2.5YR 4/6 red; 14 cm diameter

4. Late Historic red ware; coarse fabric with sand temper, 7.5YR 5/6 strong brown; surface inside and out, 7.5YR 5/6 strong brown; 14 cm diameter

5. Late Historic red ware; coarse fabric with sand temper, 2.5YR 5/6 red, with dark core; surface inside and out, 2.5YR 5/6 red; 22 cm diameter

6. Late Historic red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 2.5YR 5/6 red; surface inside and out, 2.5YR 5/6 red; 20 cm diameter

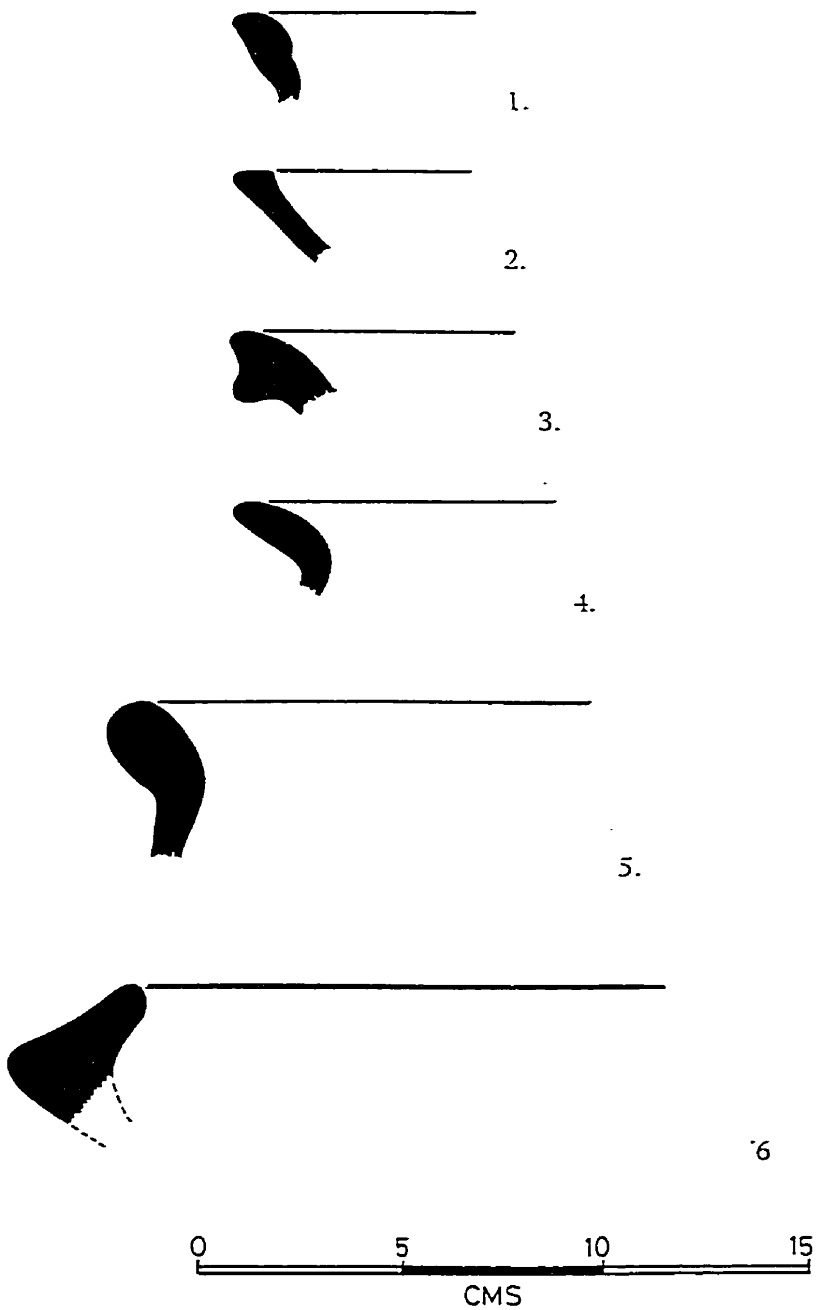



Figure 27. Pottery, Bhutra no Dhoro (Khijadiya Radadiya village)

Machiyala Nana (village)
Bhimanath (site)
site size: 100 x 100 meters
RPW, recent occupation

See Figure 28:

1. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 5YR 5/6 yellowish red; surface inside and out, 5YR 5/2 reddish gray; 13 cm diameter

2. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow; burnished slip inside and out, 2.5YR 4/6 red; 14 cm diameter

3. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand temper, 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow; burnished slip inside and out, 2.5YR 4/6 red; 25 cm diameter

4. RPW-associated gray ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 10YR 4/1 dark gray, with dark core; inner surface, 10YR 6/1 gray; outer surface, 7.5YR 4/0 dark gray; 14 cm diameter

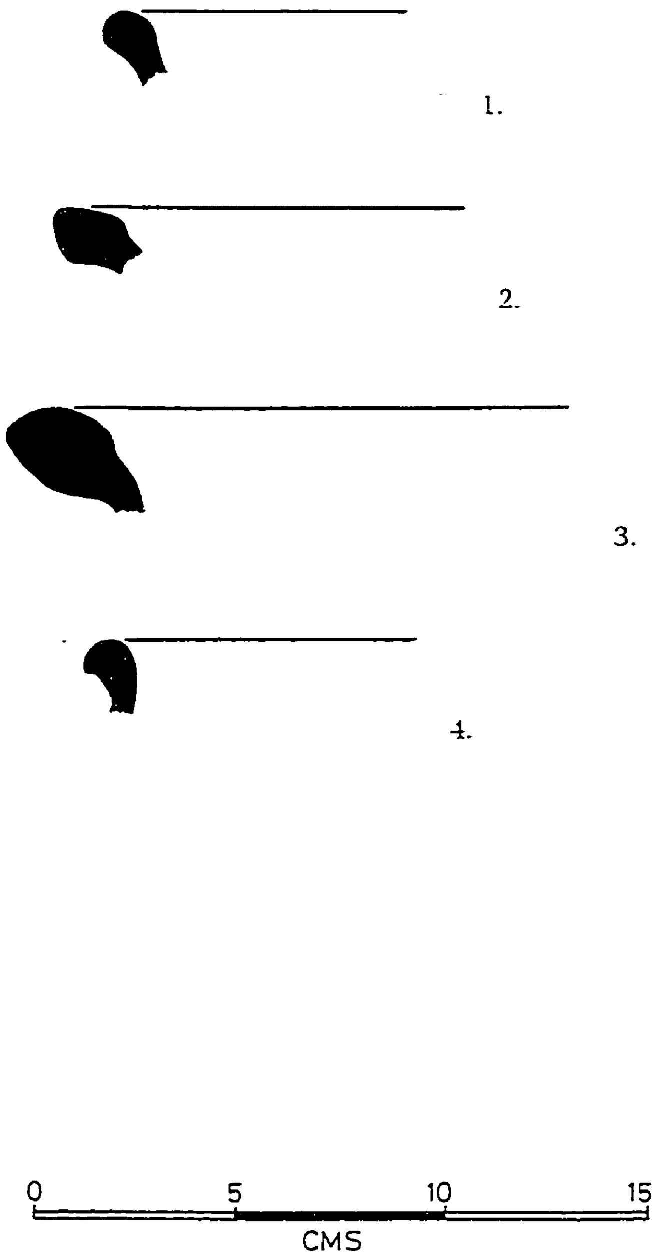



Figure 28. Pottery, Bhimanath (Machiyala Nana village)

Machiyala Mota (village)
Machiyala no Dhoro (site)
site size: 116 s 232 meters
Rangpur III, RPW, LH occupation

See Figure 29:

1. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 5YR 5/4 reddish brown; burnished slip inside and out, 10R 4/6 red; 14 cm diameter

2. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 5YR 5/6 yellowish red, with dark core; burnished slip inside and out, 10R 4/8 red; 26 cm

3. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 5YR 5/4 reddish brown; burnished slip inside and out, 10R 4/6 red; 24 cm diameter

4. RPW-associated gray ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 5YR 4/1 dark gray; burnished slip inside and out, mottled 5YR 4/2 dark reddish gray and 2.5YR 3/0 very dark gray; 20 cm diameter

5. Late Historic red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 5YR 5/6 yellowish red, with dark core; burnished slip inside neck and outside body, 10R 4/6; inner surface body, 5YR 5/6 yellowish red; 22 cm diameter

6. Late Historic gray ware; medium fabric with sand temper, 2.5YR 3/0 very dark gray; slip inside, burnished on lower rim, 5YR 5/3 reddish brown; burnished slip outside and over inner rim, 2.5YR 3/0 very dark gray; 16 cm diameter

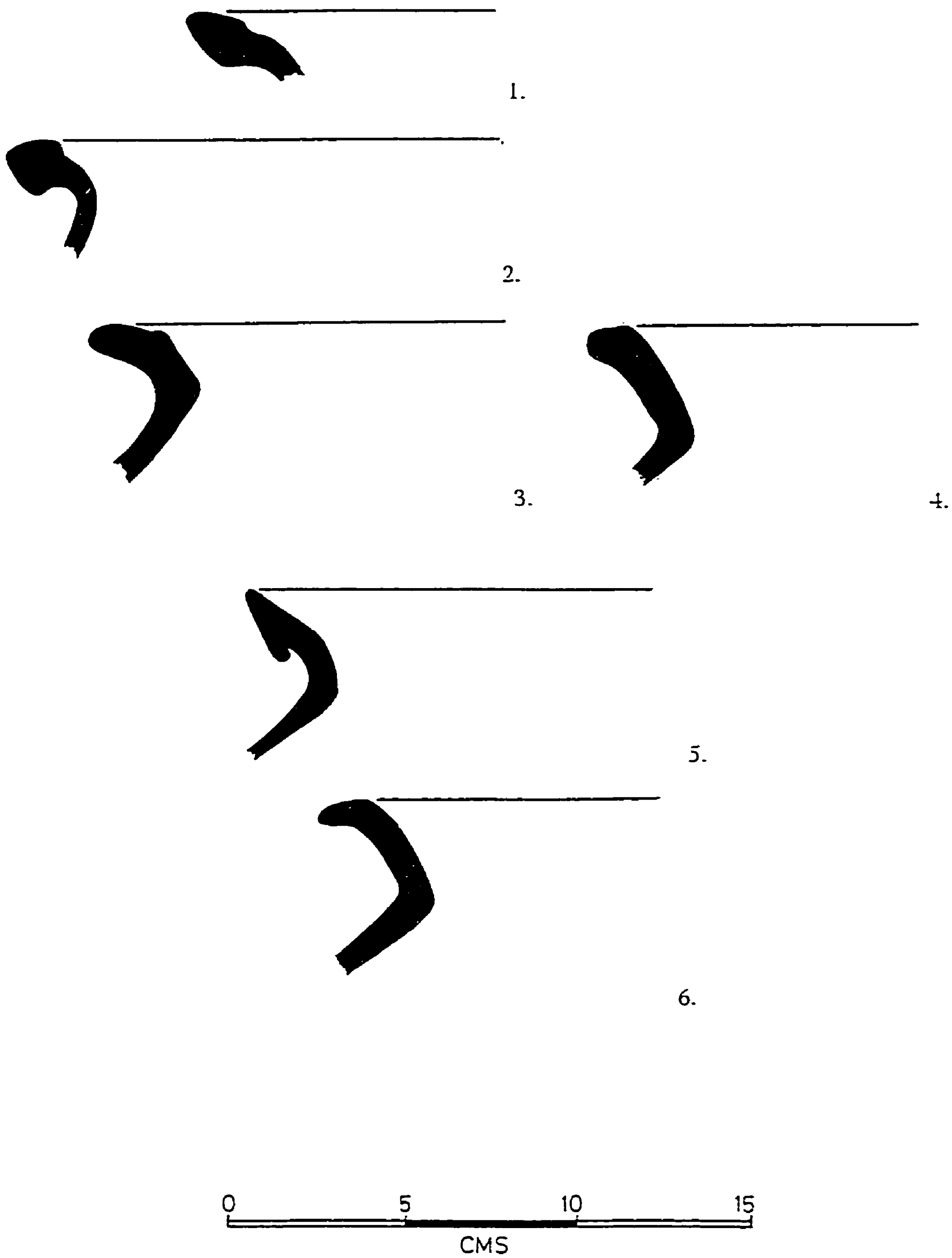



Figure 29. Pottery, Machiyala no Dhoro (Machiyala Mota village)

Amarpur (village)
Juno Dhoro (site)
site size: 145 x 29 meters
LH, recent occupation

See Figure 30:

1. Late Historic red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 5/6 strong brown; slip inside and out, 2.5YR 5/4 reddish brown; 14 cm diameter

2. Late Historic red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 6/4 light brown; inner surface, 7.5YR 6/4; slip outside, 2.5YR 5/4 reddish brown; 19 cm diameter

3. Late Historic red ware; coarse fabric with sand temper, 10YR 4/3 brown; inner surface, 10YR 4/3 brown; slip outside and over rim, mottled 5YR 5/4 reddish brown and 2.5YR 3/0 very dark gray; 20 cm diameter

4. Late Historic red ware; medium fabric with sand temper, 7.5YR 5/4 brown, with dark core; slip inside and out, mottled 10YR 4/1 dark gray and 5YR 5/4 reddish brown; 20 cm diameter

5. Late Historic red ware; coarse fabric with sand temper, 5YR 5/6 yellowish red; slip inside and out, 10YR 4/1 dark gray; 22 cm diameter

6. Late Historic red ware; medium fabric with sand temper, 7.5 YR 5/4 brown, with dark core; slip inside and out, 5YR 3/4 dark reddish brown; 28 cm diameter

7. Late Historic red ware; fine fabric with sand temper, 7.5YR 6/6 reddish yellow, with dark core; slip inside, 2.5YR 4/4 reddish brown; outer surface, 7.5YR 6/6 reddish yellow; 18 cm diameter

8. Late Historic red ware; medium fabric with sand temper, 7.5YR 5/4 brown; slip inside and out, 2.5YR 5/4 reddish brown; 14 cm diameter

9. Late Historic red ware; medium fabric with sand temper, 7.5YR 6/6 reddish yellow, with dark core; slip inside and out, 2.5YR 5/6 red; 24 cm diameter

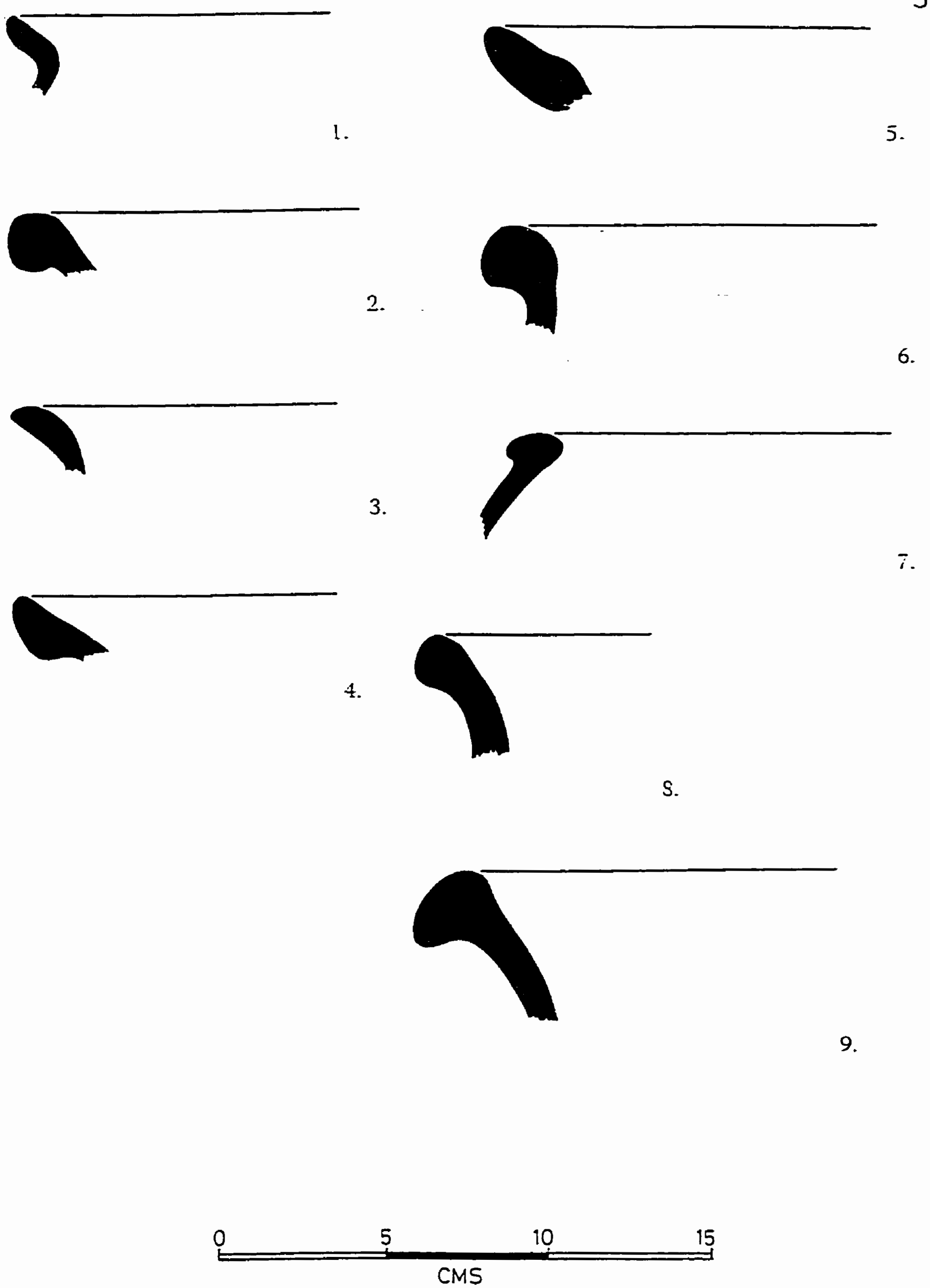



Figure 30. Pottery, Juno Dhoro (Amarpur village)

Bhandariya Nana (village)
Vavadi no Dhoro (site)
site size: 139 x 133 meters
RPW, recent occupation

See Figure 31:

1. RPW; fine fabric, 2.5YR 6/6 light red; burnished slip inside and out, 10R 5/8 red; 12 cm diameter

2. RPW handle; fine fabric, 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow; burnished slip inside, 10R 5/8 red; slip outside, 2.5YR 5/6 red

3. RPW stand; fine fabric, 5YR 6/4 light reddish brown, with dark core; slip inside, 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow; burnished slip outside, 2.5YR 5/8 red; 13 cm diameter

4. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand temper, 5YR 5/4 reddish brown; burnished slip inside, 2.5YR 6/6 light red; 12 cm diameter

5. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand temper, 2.5YR 5/6 red; burnished slip inside, 2.5YR 4/4 reddish brown, with painted line on inner rim, 2.5YR 4/0 dark gray; slip outside and over inner rim, 10R 5/3 weak red; 24 cm diameter

6. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand temper, 5YR 5/6 yellowish red; inner surface, 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow; slip outside, 2.5YR 5/4 reddish brown; 16 cm diameter

7. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 6/6 reddish yellow; burnished slip inside and out, 5YR 5/6 yellowish red; 22 cm diameter

8. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 5YR 5/6 yellowish red, with dark core; burnished slip inside, mottled 5YR 4/6 yellowish red and 5YR 3/1 very dark gray; burnished slip outside, mottled 5YR 5/6 yellowish red and 5YR 4/4 reddish brown; 22 cm diameter

9. RPW-associated gray ware; medium fabric with sand temper, 10YR 4/1 dark gray, with dark core; slip inside and out, 7.5YR 5/0 gray; 16 cm diameter

10. RPW-associated gray ware; medium fabric with sand temper, 7.5YR 4/0 dark gray; slip inside, 5YR 5/4 reddish brown; burnished slip outside and over inner rim, 2.5YR 4/4 reddish brown, stripe on outer rim; 10 cm diameter

11. RPW-associated gray ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 3/0 very dark gray; burnished slip inside and out, 7.5YR 4/0 dark gray; 18 cm diameter

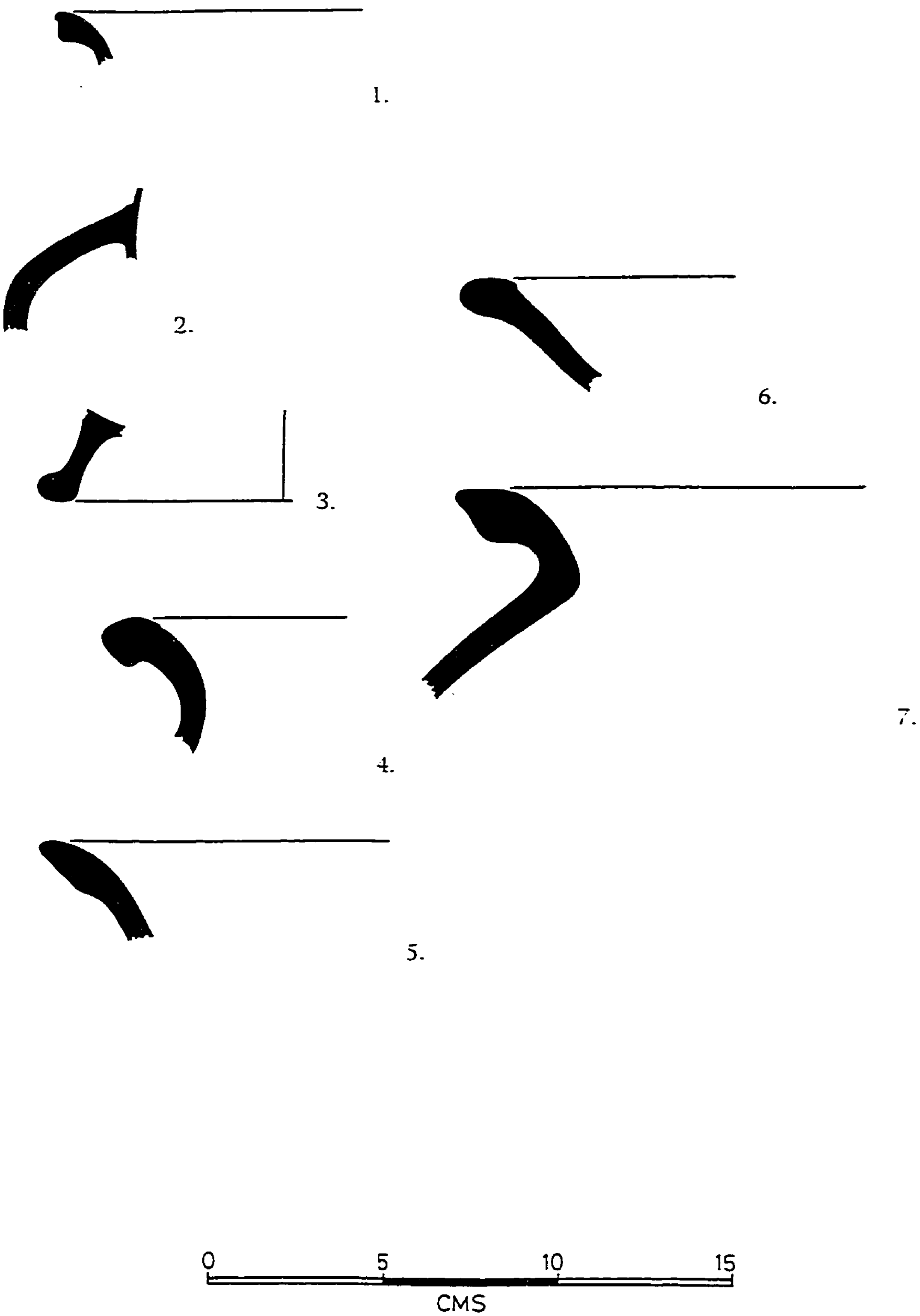



Figure 31. Pottery, Vavadi no Dhoro (Bhandariya Nana village)

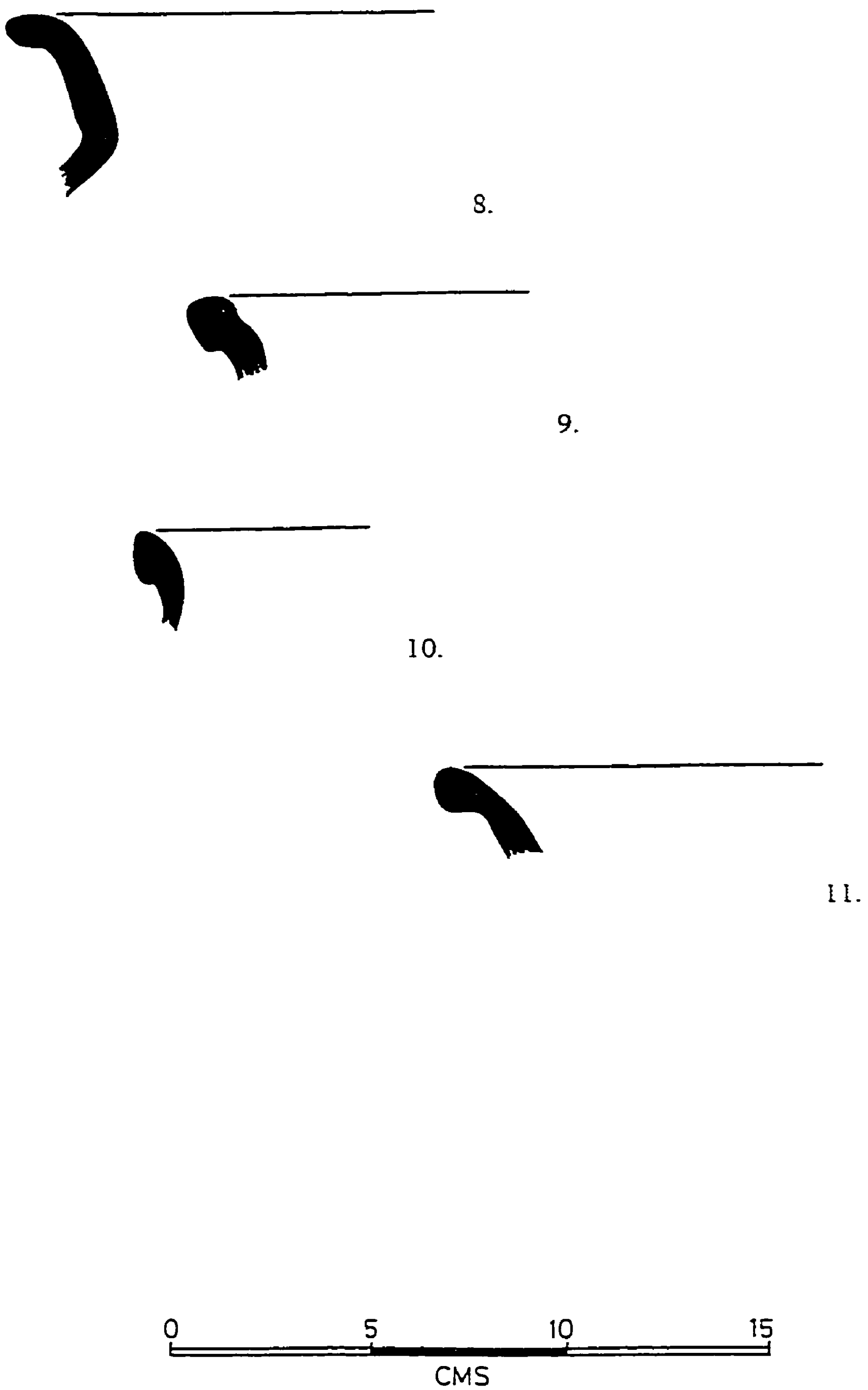



Figure 31. Pottery, Vavadi no Dhoro (Bhandariya Nana village), continued

Randhiya (village)
(no site name)
site size: 133 x 17 meters
RPW occupation

See Figure 32:

1. RPW; fine fabric, 2.5YR 6/6 light red; burnished slip inside and out, 10R 5/8; 22 cm diameter

2. RPW; fine fabric, 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow; burnished slip inside and out, 2.5YR 5/6 red; 18 cm diameter

3. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 5YR 5/6 yellowish red, with dark core; burnished slip inside and out, 2.5YR 4/6 red; 28 cm diameter

4. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 2.5YR 5/6 red; burnished slip inside, 2.5YR 4/8 red; slip outside, 10R 5/6 red; 12 cm diameter

5. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 5/4 brown; slip inside, 2.5YR 5/6 red; burnished slip outside, 2.5YR 5/6 red; 18 cm diameter

6. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 5/4 brown; burnished slip inside and out, 2.5YR 5/8 red; painted stripe on inner rim; 14 cm diameter

7. RPW-associated red ware; coarse fabric with sand temper, 5YR 5/6 yellowish red; inner surface, 7.5YR 5/2 brown; slip outside and over rim, 2.5YR 5/4 reddish brown; 18 cm diameter

8. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 5/6 strong brown, with dark core; slip inside, 2.5YR 4/4 reddish brown; slip outside, 2.5YR 5/4 reddish brown; 16 cm diameter

9. RPW-associated red ware; coarse fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 5/4 brown, with dark core; inner surface, 7.5YR 5/2 brown; slip inner rim, 5YR 5/6 yellowish red; outer surface, 7.5YR 5/4 brown; 20 cm diameter

10. RPW-associated red ware; coarse fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 5/4 brown, with dark core; slip inside and rim, 7.5YR 6/4 light brown; slip outside, 2.5YR 5/4 reddish brown; 22 cm diameter

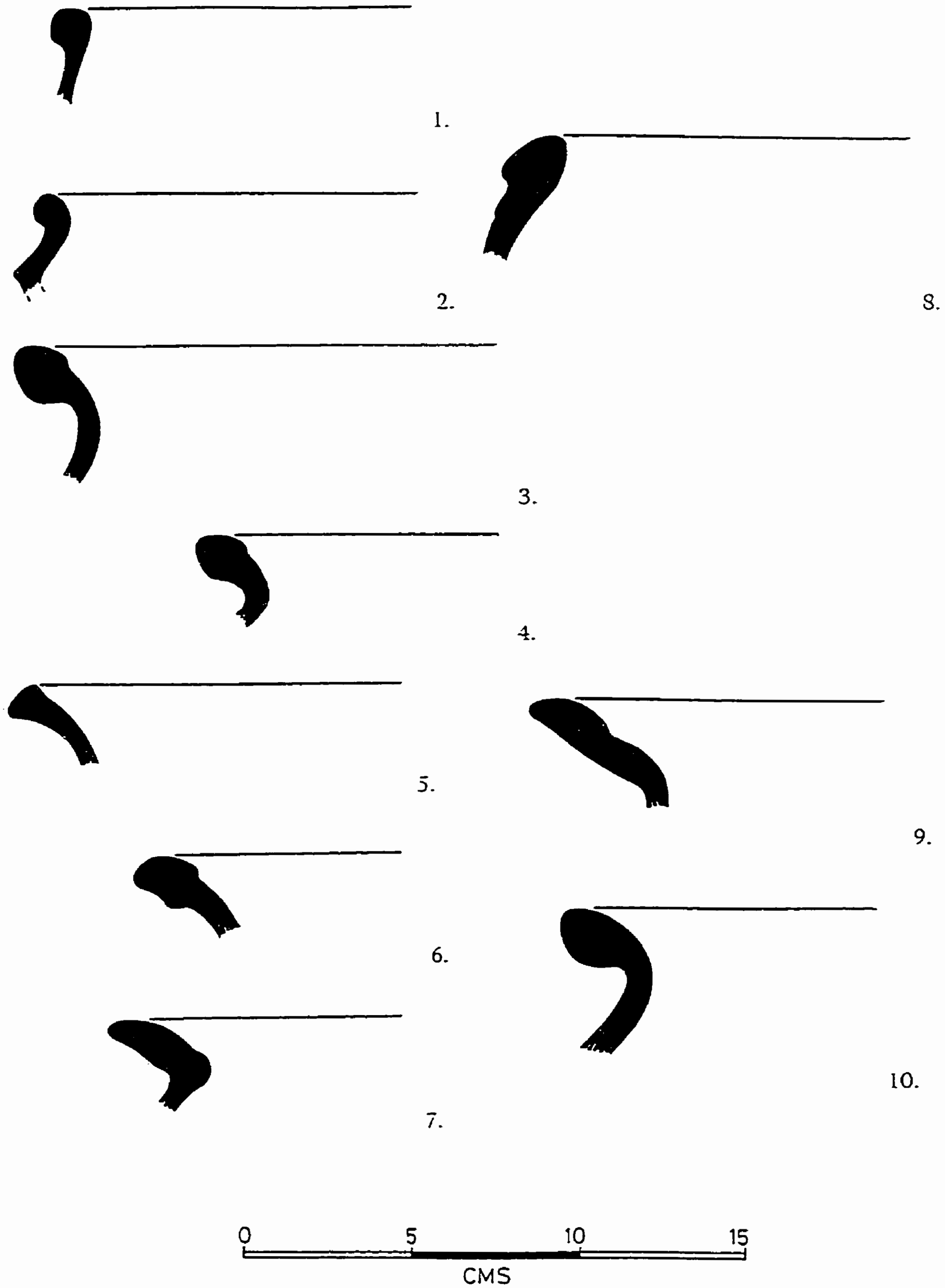



Figure 32. Pottery, Randhiya village [no site name]

Timba (village)
(no site name)
site size: 87 x 35 meters
RPW, recent occupation

See Figure 33:

1. RPW; fine fabric, 2.5YR 5/6 red; inner surface, 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow; burnished slip outside, 2/5YR 5/6 red; 8 cm diameter

2. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand temper, 5YR 5/6 yellowish red, with dark core; slip inside and out, 5YR yellowish red; 12 cm diameter

3. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand temper, 5YR 5/6 yellowish red, with dark core; slip inside, 2.5YR 5/6 red; outer surface, 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow; 26 cm diameter

4. RPW; fine fabric, 5YR 5/6 yellowish red; slip inside, 10R 4/4 weak red; burnished slip outside, 10R 4/4 weak red; 18 cm diameter

5. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 5YR 5/6 yellowish red, with dark core; inner surface, 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow; outer surface, 10YR 7/2 light gray; 49 cms diameter

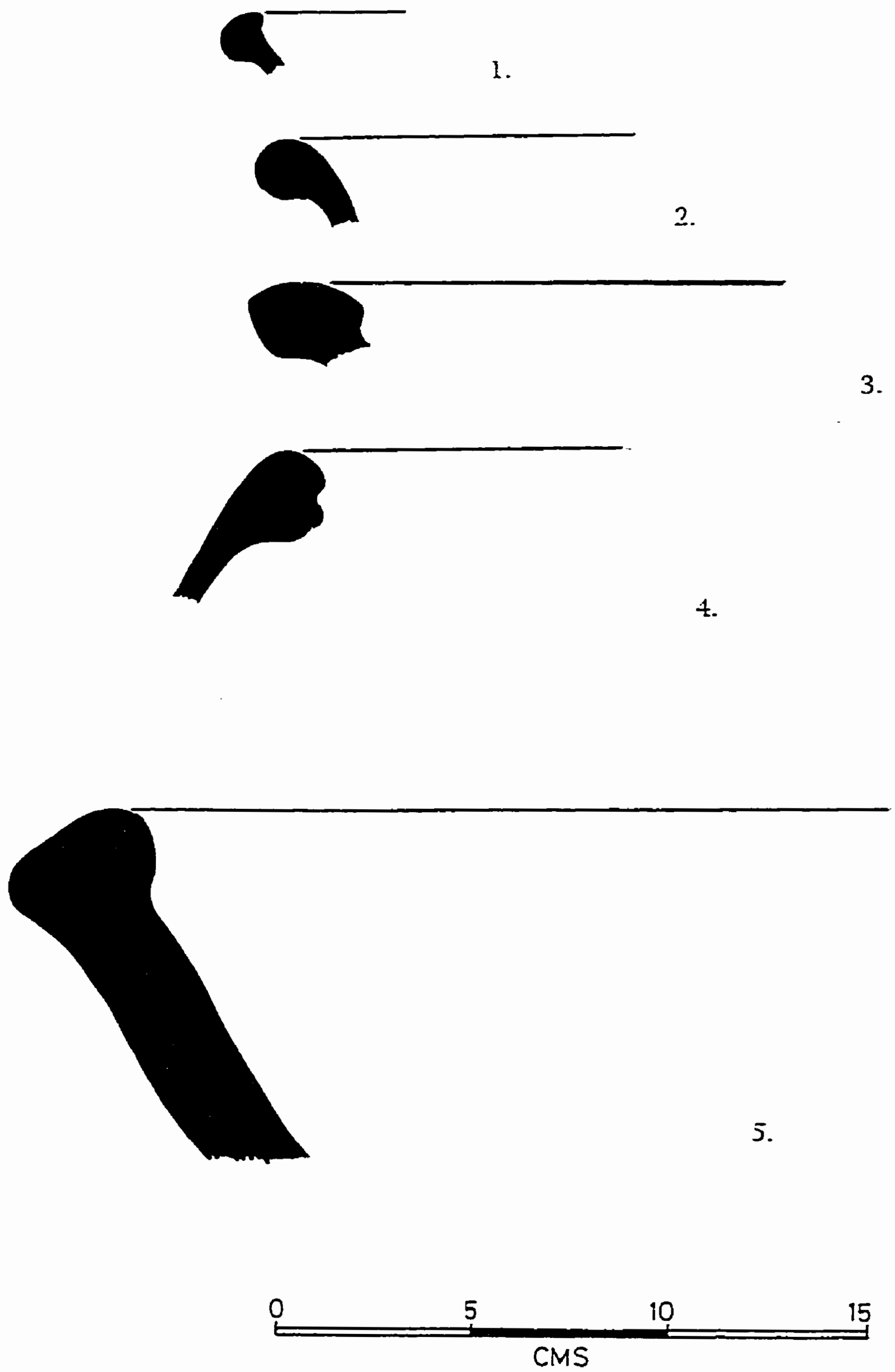



Figure 33. Pottery, Timba village [no site name]

Monpur (village)
(no site name)
site size: 131 x 102 meters
RPW occupation

See Figure 34:

1. RPW; fine fabric, 5YR 6/8 reddish yellow; slip inside and out, 2.5YR 5/8 red; 12 cm diameter

2. RPW; fine fabric, 2.5YR 6/8 light red, with dark core; surface inside and out, 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow; 12 cm diameter

3. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand temper, 2.5YR 5/8 red, with dark core; inner surface, 2.5YR 6/8 light red; slip ouside, 2.5YR 5/6 red; 12 cm diameter

4. RPW-associated red ware; fine fabric with sand temper, 5YR 5/6 yellowish red; slip inside and out, 2.5YR 5/6 red; 20 cm diameter

5. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand temper, 10YR 7/4 very pale brown; surface inside and out, 10YR 6/4 light yellowish brown; 10 cm diameter

6. RPW-associated gray ware; medium fabric with sand temper, 10YR 3/1 very dark gray; surface inside and out, 10YR 5/3 brown; 14 cm diameter

7. RPW-associated gray ware; medium fabric with sand temper, 10YR 3/1 very dark gray; inner surface, 7.5YR 5/4 brown; slip outside, 5YR 6/4 light reddish brown; 12 cm diameter

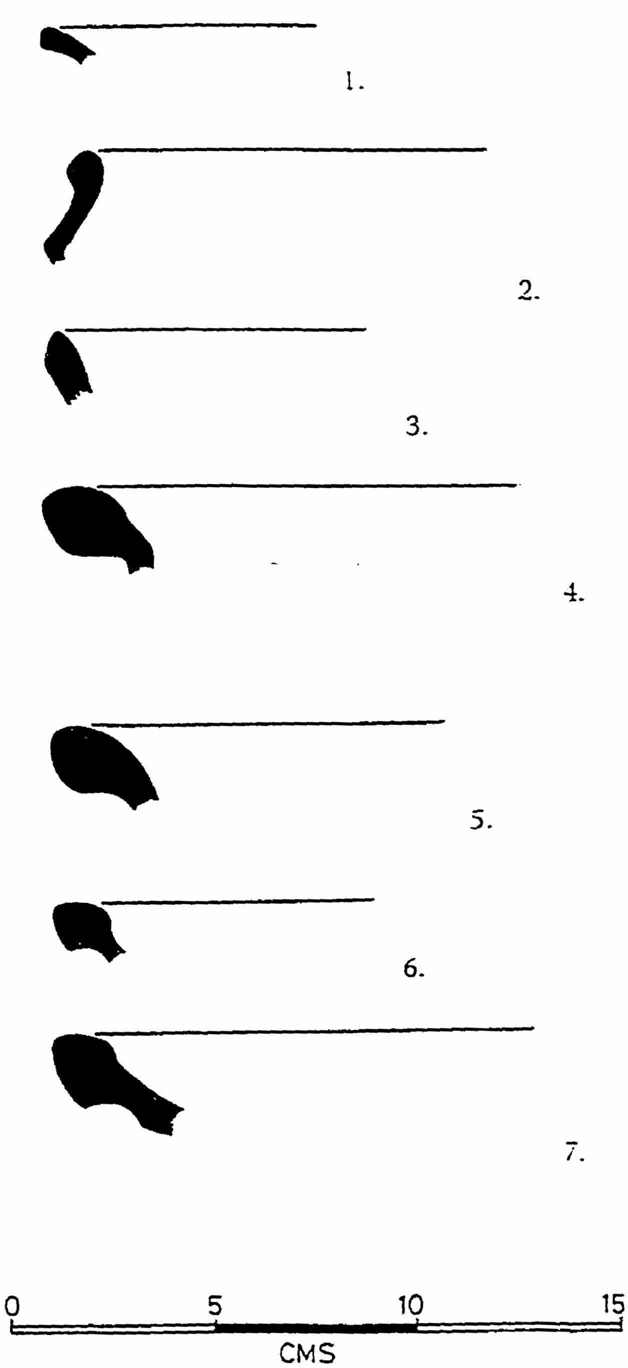



Figure 34. Pottery, Monpur village [no site name]

Gavadka (village)
(no site name)
site size: 35 x 41 meters
RPW, recent occupation

See Figure 35:

1. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 5/4 brown; inner surface, 10YR 6/3 pale brown; slip inner rim, 2.5YR 5/4 reddish brown; burnished slip outside, 2.5YR 4/6 red; 14 cm diameter

2. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 5/6 strong brown; burnished slip inside, 2.5YR 5/6 red; slip outside, 2.5YR 5/6 red; 16 cm diameter

3. RPW-associated gray ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 10YR 3/2 very dark grayish brown, with dark core; burnished slip inside and out, 7.5YR 3/0 very dark gray; 12 cm diameter

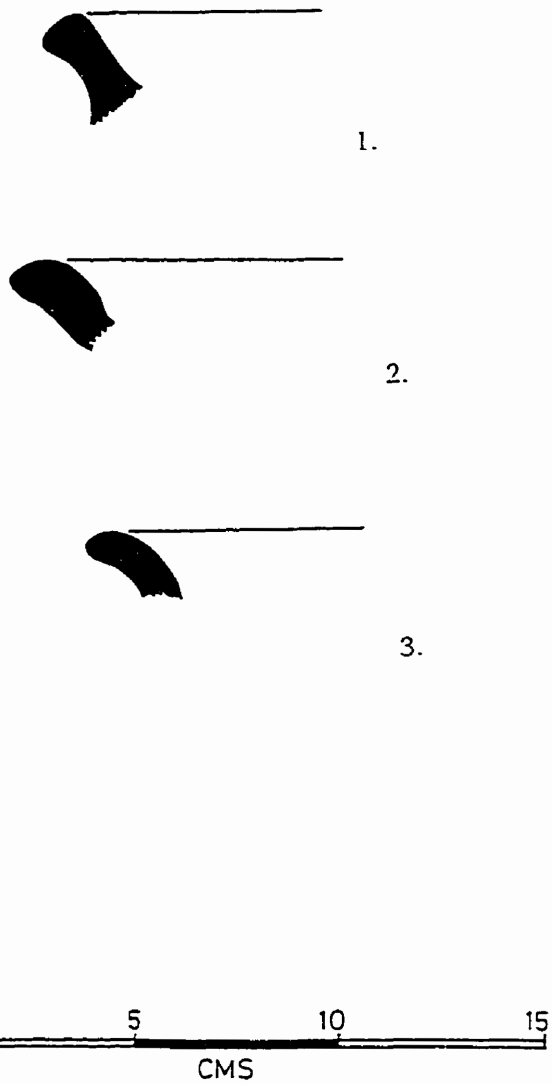



Figure 35. Pottery, Gavadka village [no site name]

Ankadiya Mota (village)
Mathukia no Dhoro (site)
site size: 177 x 96 meters
RPW occupation

See Figure 36:

1. RPW; fine fabric, 5YR 5/4 reddish brown; burnished slip inside and out, 2.5YR 5/6 red; 14 cm diameter

2. RPW; fine fabric, 2.5YR 5/8 red; slip inside and out, 2.5YR 5/6 red; 12 cm diameter

3. RPW; fine fabric, 2.5YR 5/8 red with dark core; burnished slip inside and out, 2.5YR 5/6 red; 18 cm diameter

4. RPW; fine fabric, 2.5YR 5/8 red; burnished slip inside and out, 2.5YR 4/8 red; 18 cm diameter

5. RPW; fine fabric, 2.5YR 5/4 reddish brown; burnished slip inside, streaked 7.5YR 4/2 brown/dark brown, 7.5YR 5/2 brown, and 7.5YR 6/2 pinkish gray; burnished slip outside and over rim, streaked 2.5YR 4/6 red; 12 cm diameter

6. RPW base; fine fabric, 2.5YR 6/8 light red; inner surface, 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow; burnished slip outside, 2.5YR 6/8 light red; diameter not determined

7. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand temper, 5YR 5/6 yellowish red; burnished slip inside and out, 2.5YR 5/4 reddish brown; 20 cm diameter

8. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand temper, 10YR 5/3 brown; burnished slip inside and out, 2.5YR red; 18 cm diameter

9. RPW-associated red ware; coarse with sand temper, 7.5YR 4/4 dark brown; slip inside and out, 7.5YR 6/4 light brown; 20 cm diameter

10. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 5YR 4/2 dark reddish gray, with dark core; inner surface, 7.5YR 6/4 light brown; slip outside and over rim, 2.5YR 5/6 red; 28 cm diameter

11. RPW-associated gray ware; medium fabric with sand temper, 5YR 4/2 dark reddish gray; burnished slip inside and out, 2.5YR 4/4 reddish brown; 24 cm diameter

12. RPW-associated gray ware; medium fabric with sand temper, 7.5YR 4/0 dark gray; slip inner rim, 5YR 5/3 reddish brown; inner surface, 5YR 5/4 reddish brown; outer surface, mottled 5YR 5/4 reddish brown and 5YR 4/1 dark gray; 28 cm diameter

13. RPW-associated gray ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 5YR 4/1 dark gray; burnished slip inside, mottled 7.5YR 4/2 dark brown and 5YR 4/3 reddish brown; burnished slip outside, 5YR 5/1 gray and 7.5YR 5/2 brown; 18 cm diameter

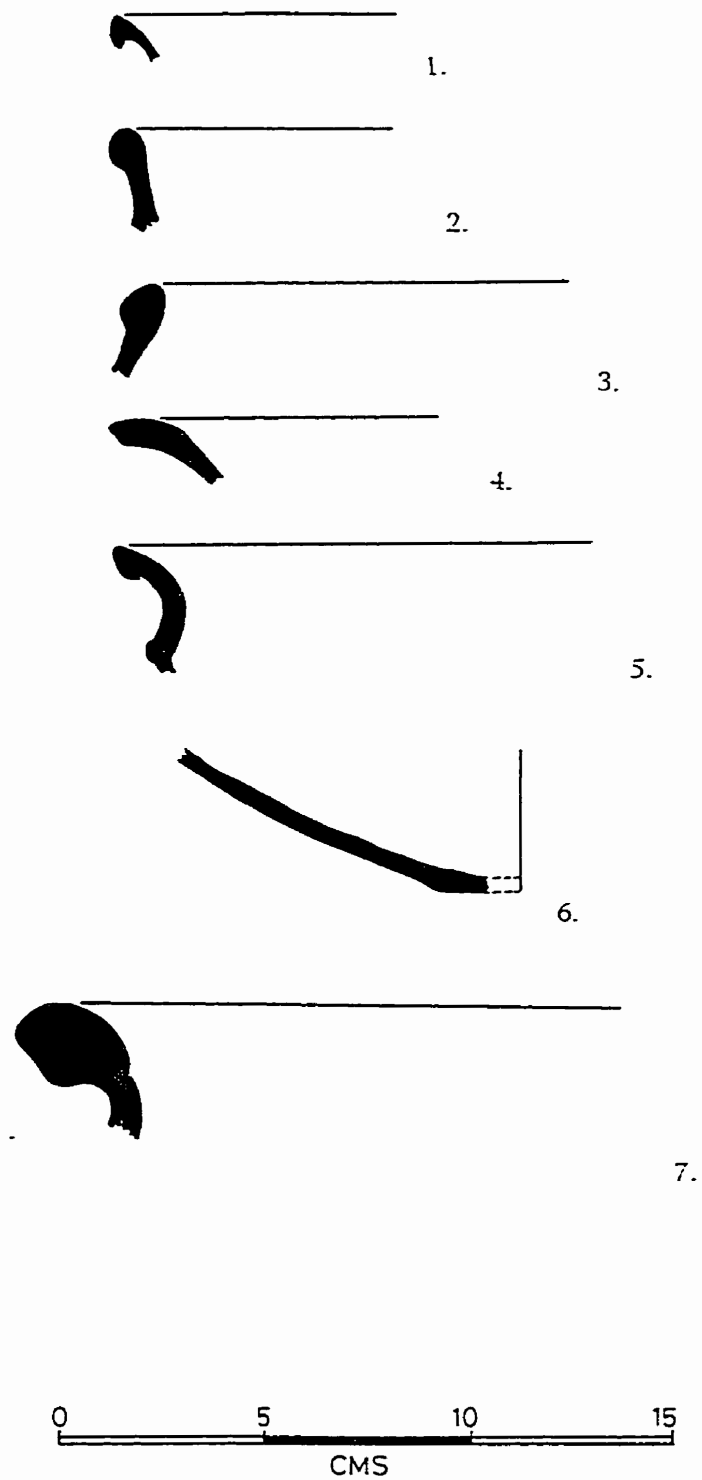



Figure 36. Pottery, Mathukia no Dhoro (Ankadiya Mota village)

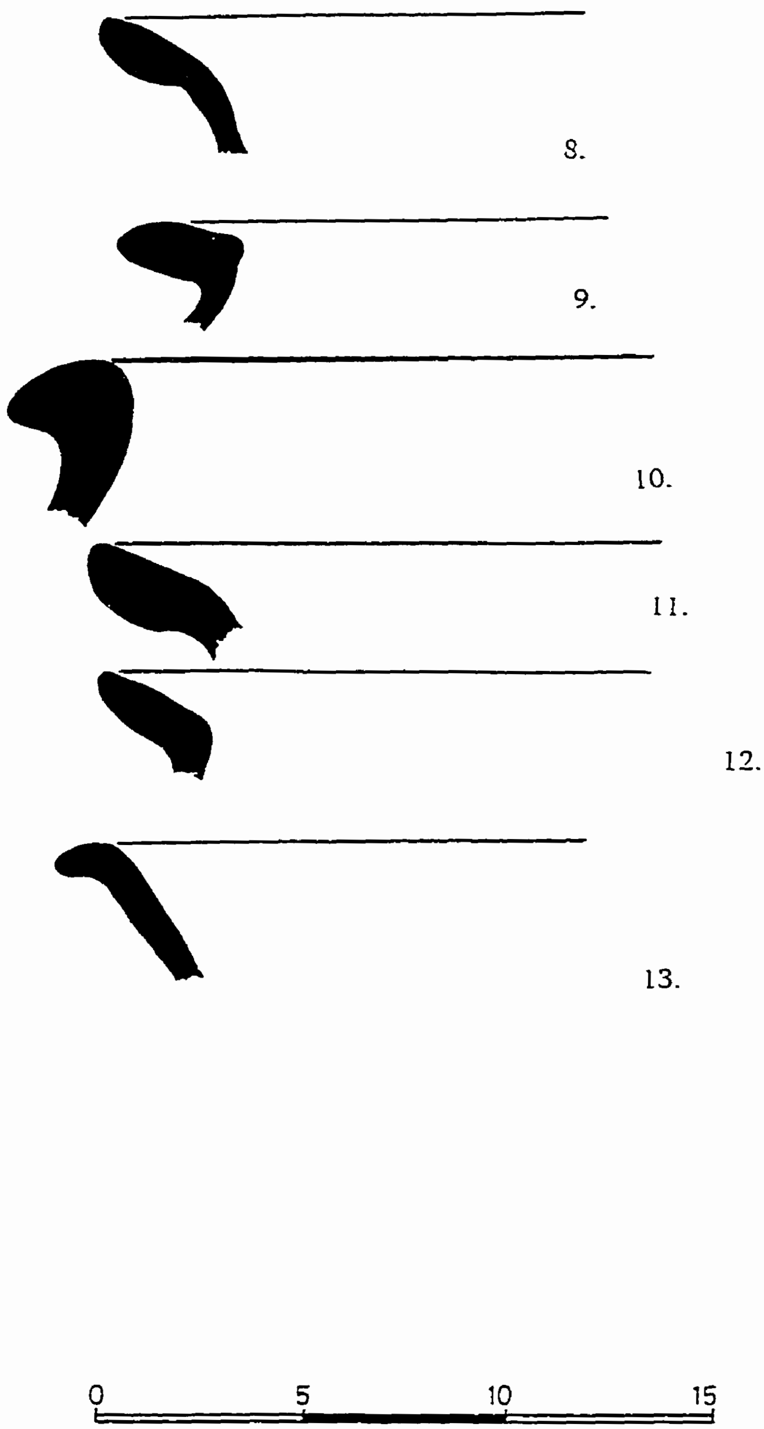



Figure 36. Pottery, Mathukia no Dhoro (Ankadiya Mota village), continued

Kathma (village)
Keriya no Dhoro (site)
site size: 116 x 145 meters
RPW, LH occupation

See Figure 37:

1. RPW; fine fabric, 2.5YR 5/8 red; polished slip inside and out, 2.5YR 5/8 red; 10 cm diameter

2. RPW; fine fabric, 2.5YR 6/8 light red; polished slip inside and out, 2.5YR 5/8 red; 12 cm diameter

3. RPW-associated red ware lid; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 7,5YR 6/4 light brown; inner surface, 7.5YR 6/4 light brown; slip outside, 10R 4/6 red; 16 cm inner diameter; 20 cm outer diameter

4. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 2.5YR 4/8 red, with dark core; surface inside and out, 2.5YR 5/4 reddish brown; 28 cm diameter

5. RPW-associated gray ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 2.5YR 2.5/0 black; burnished slip inside and out, 2.5YR 3/0 very dark gray; 20 cm diameter

6. RPW-associated gray ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 2.5YR 2.5/0 black; burnished slip inside and out, 2.5YR 3/0 very dark gray; 20 cm diameter

7. RPW-associated gray ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, burnished slip inside and out, mottled 10YR 4/3 brown and 10YR 3/1 very dark gray; 22 cm diameter

8. Late Historic gray ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 10YR 3/2 very dark grayish brown, with indentations around rim; inner surface, 10YR 6/1 gray; burnished slip outside, 7.5YR 4/0 dark gray; 18 cm diameter

9. Late Historic gray ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 10YR 5/1 gray, with dark core; inner surface, 10YR 5/1 gray; burnished slip outside and over rim, mottled 10YR 4/2 dark grayish brown and 7.5YR 4/4 brown; 18 cm diameter

10. Late Historic gray ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 10YR 5/2 grayish brown, with dark core; burnished slip inside and out, mottled 7.5YR 5/0 gray dn 7.5YR 3/0 very dark gray, 24 cm diameter

11. Late Historic gray ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 2/0 black; inner surface, 7.5YR 5/0 gray; burnished slip outside and inner rim, 7.5YR 3/0 very dark gray; 20 cm diameter

12. Late Historic gray ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 7.5YR 3/0 very dark gray; slip inside, 7.5YR 5/4 very dark gray; slip outside and over rim, mottled 7.5YR 5/4 brown and 7.5YR 3/0 very dark gray; 18 cm diameter

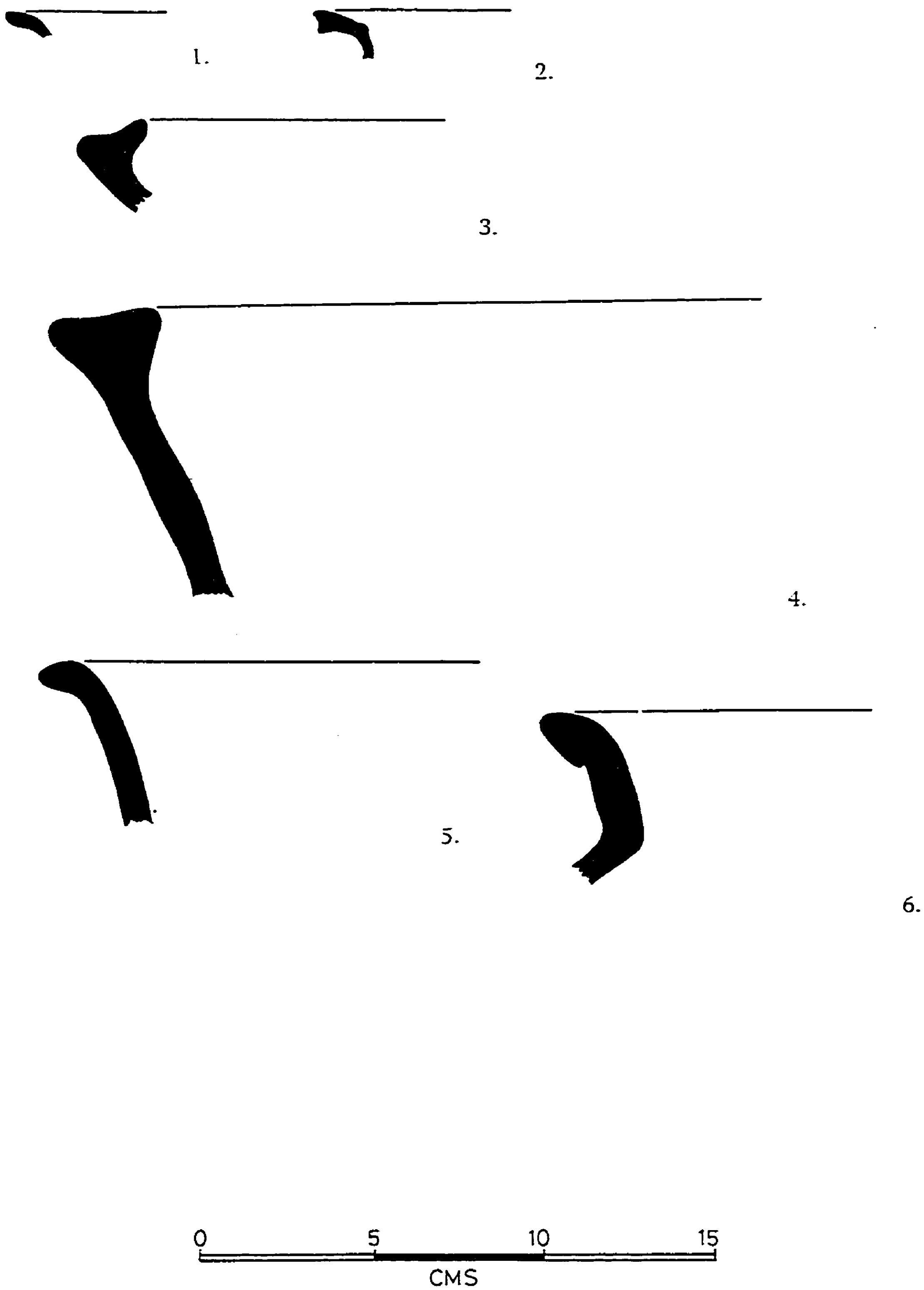



Figure 37. Pottery, Keriya no Dhoro (Kathma village)

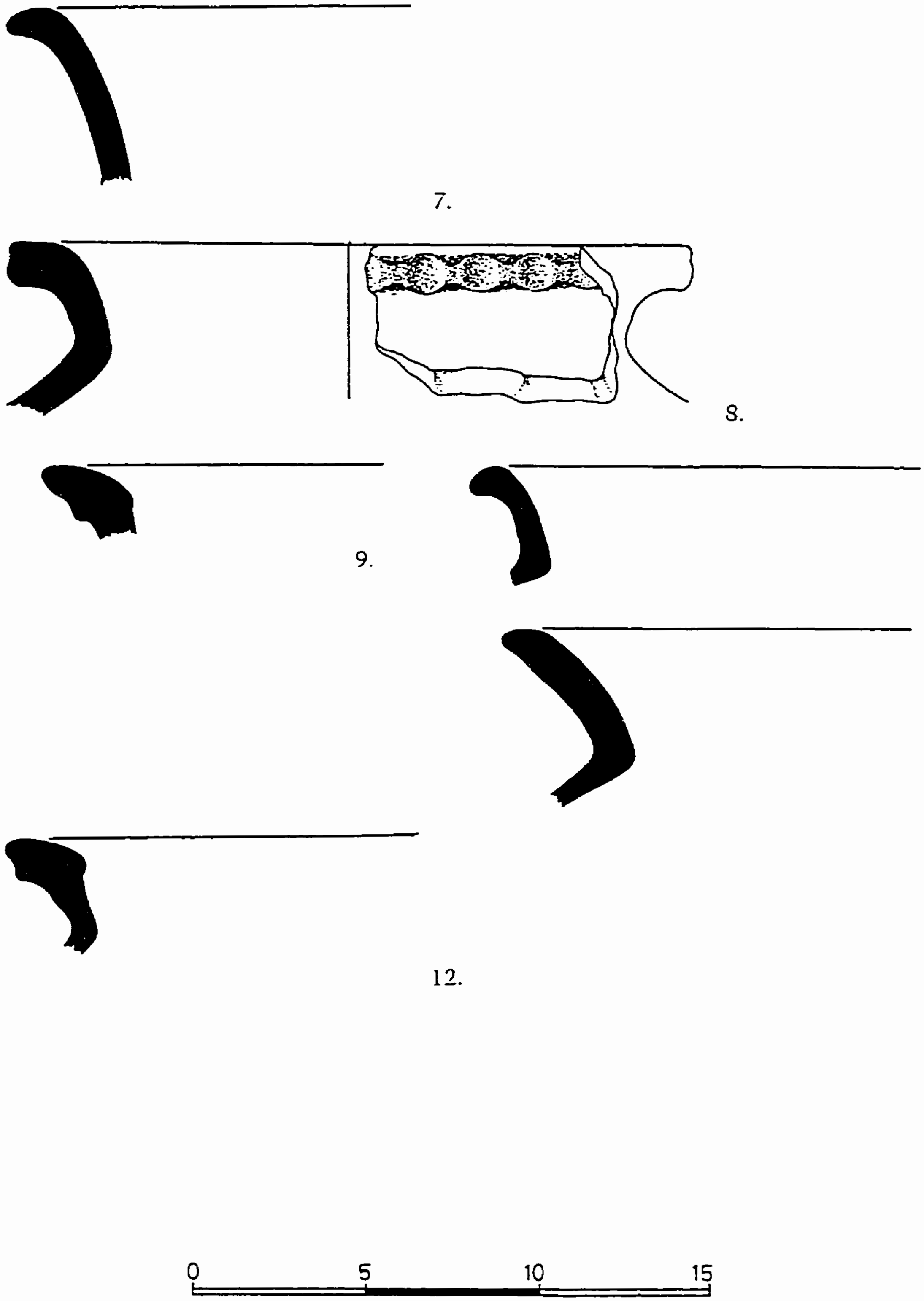



Figure 37. Pottery, Keriya no Dhoro (Kathma village), continued

Veniavadar (village)
Kahrabo no Dhoro (site)
site size: 162 x 122 meters
Rangpur II BC, RPW occupation

See Figure 38:

1. RPW-associated red ware; fine fabric with sand temper, 7.5YR 5/4 brown; burnished slip inside and out, 5YR 5/6 yellowish red; 16 cm diameter

2. RPW-associated red ware; coarse fabric with sand temper, 10YR 3/1 very dark gray; surface inside and out, 7.5YR 6/4 light brown; 10 cm diameter

3. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 5YR 5/4 reddish brown, with dark core; surface inside and out, 5YR 5/4 reddish brown; 14 cm diameter

4. RPW-associated red ware; medium fabric with sand and vegetable temper, 5YR 5/4 reddish brown; inner surface, 5YR 5/4 reddish brown; burnished slip inner lip, 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow; burnished slip outside rim, mottled 5YR 5/4 reddish brown and 5YR 4/1 dark gray; slip outside body, 5YR light reddish brown; 24 cm diameter

Keriya Nagas (village)
Jaliya Dhoro (site; is approximately 2 kms east of village)
site size: 200 x 200
recent occupation

Pipallag (village)
Vagra no Dhoro (site; is approximately 1 km west of village)
site size: 200 x 300 meters
Rangpur II BC occupation

Jasvanthgadh (village)
(no site name; site is in village)
site size: 100 x 200 meters
Rangpur II BC occupation

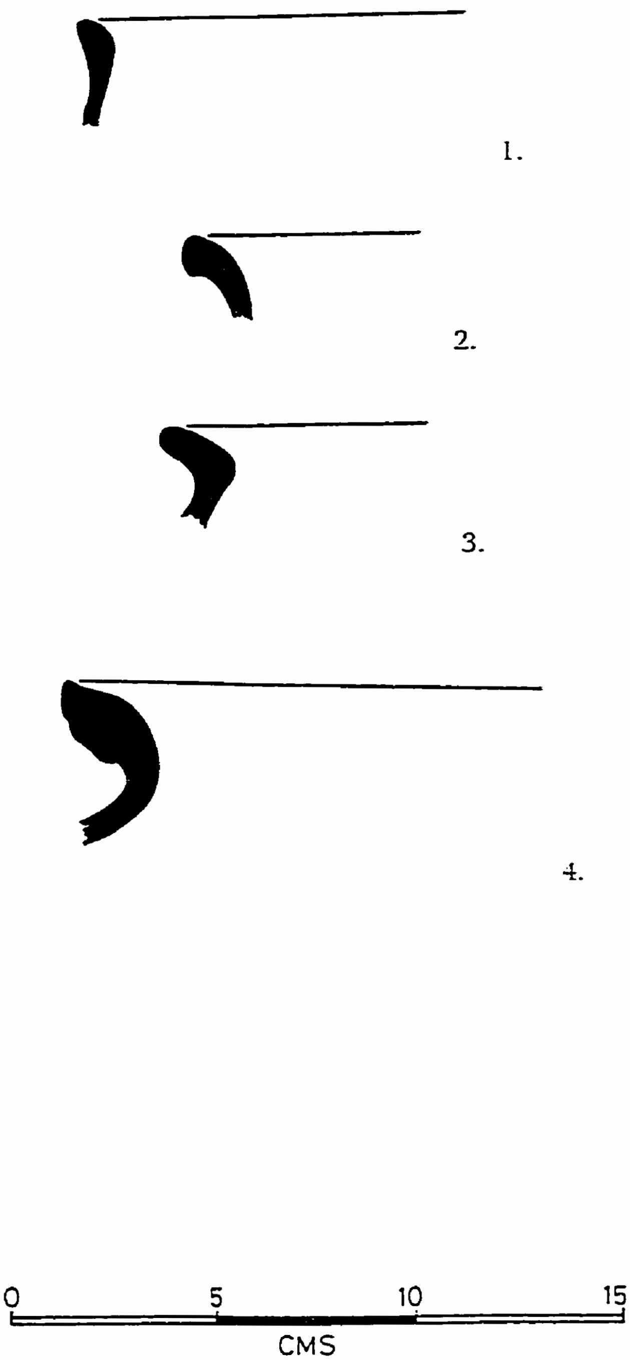



Figure 38. Pottery, Kahrabo no Dhoro (Veniavadar village)

Varasda (village)
(no site name; is approximately .75 kms west of village)
site size: 35 x 46 meters
recent occupation

Vadera (village)
(no site name; is approximately 1 km south of Vadera and 1 km northwest of Rampar)
site size: 160 x 112 meters
Rangpur II BC, recent occupation

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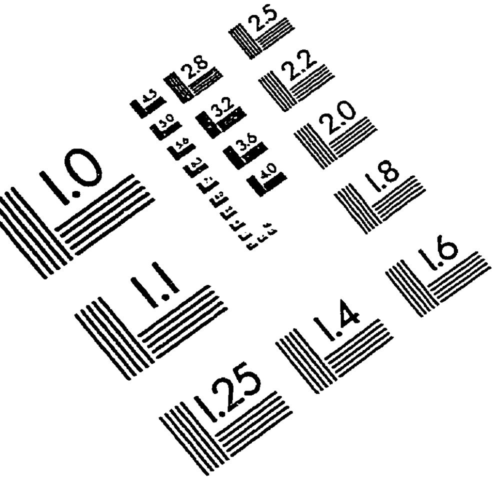
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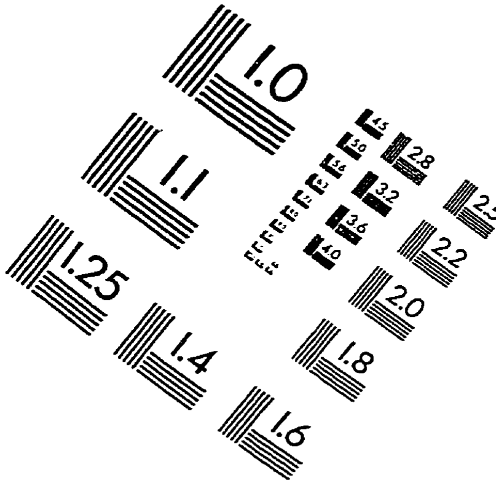
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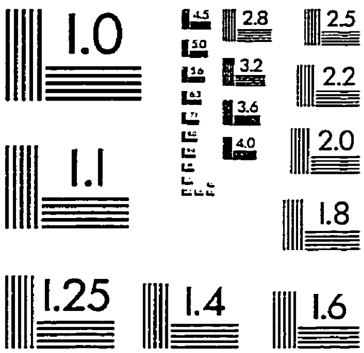
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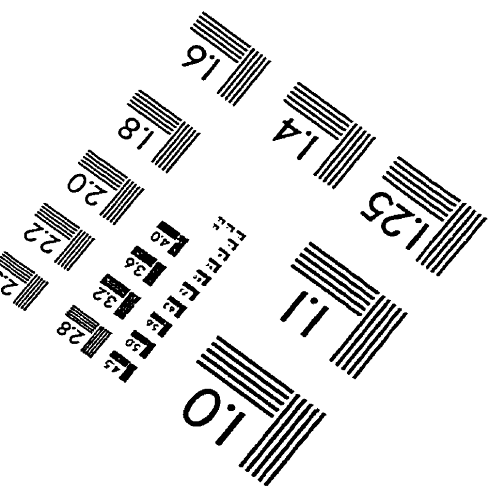


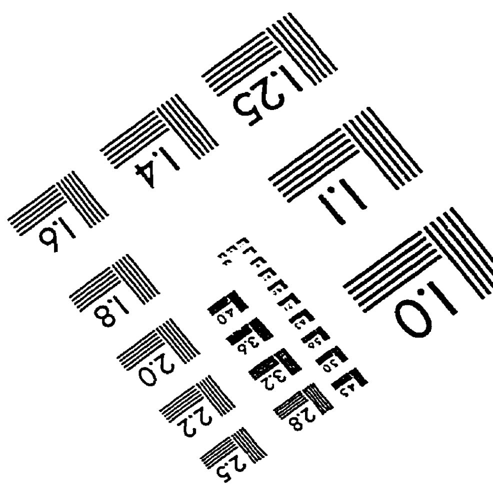




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